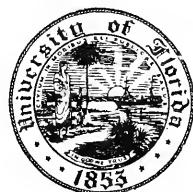


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DAR ES SALAAM

A Study in Urban Geography

DAR ES SALAAM

Harm J. de Blij

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY PRESS 1963

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by the Michigan State University African Studies Center



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Manufactured in the United States of America

To my parents

NELLY MARGOT ERWICH
and
HENDRIK DE BLIJ

PREFACE

IN A STUDY OF LOURENÇO MARQUES published in January 1962, I called for further work on the major urban centers of Subsaharan Africa. The present volume is an indication of the urgency with which I regard this matter. In changing Africa, not only political conditions are irretrievably altered. Many of the continent's cities have long been the heart of the white man's power, the places from which he ruled his African domain. Suddenly these same urban centers have become the seats of African governments, the testing grounds for the efficiency of African administration, and, above all, the scenes of spectacular change.

What sort of city had evolved in colonial Africa prior to independence? What generalizations can be made concerning the contrasts between the results of colonial policies as reflected in the urban centers? What are the changes now superimposed upon the colonialists' creations? The changes will soon become evident. But what of the framework upon which they rest?

This study is but an inadequate answer to such grandiose questions, but it is put forward as a beginning and in the hope that it will lead to additional work which may eventually result in useful comparative analyses. As many of the data as could be recorded and reproduced have been included so that they may

be available for use to other geographers whose efforts may lead in different directions; whoever wishes to use the empirical material for his own research purposes may do so.

This study was carried out during the summer of 1962 on a grant provided by the African Studies Center of Michigan State University. I am grateful for the assistance provided, and especially for the administrative help and encouragement of Dean Eugene Jacobson and Dean Ralph Smuckler. After my return from Tanganyika, Dr. Charles Hughes, Director of the Michigan State University African Studies Center, materially supported my efforts to record and interpret the data and effect an early completion date. Mr. W. M. Nelson expertly reproduced the maps in the M. S. U. Photographic Laboratory. Mr. R. Janke drew Figure 9. I also benefited from discussions with colleagues, especially Dr. A. Getis of the Department of Geography.

In Tanganyika I received valuable help from many persons. Mr. J. Berkhout, Director of the Cathedral Bookshop, supplied me with a number of useful publications and provided several necessary introductions. Mr. A. Mascarenhas, during the early reconnaissance, provided helpful insights and acted as guide. Mr. T. P. Madhani, real estate expert, assembled the land value data. The curator of the Museum Library assisted me in a search for documents and old photographs. Mr. W. L. Dickson of the Survey Office helped me in finding usable base maps and other cartographic materials. In addition, countless store owners, policemen, and pedestrians willingly submitted to questions. The legendary friendliness of the people of Tanganyika is well exemplified by my experiences in "Dar." While I cannot thank everyone individually, I would like hereby to express my gratitude to all.

Harm J. de Blij

East Lansing, Michigan
December 15, 1962

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DAR ES SALAAM

Chapter I AN INTRODUCTION TO DAR ES SALAAM

THE MAJOR CITIES OF SUBSAHARAN AFRICA all reflect, in various ways and to varying degrees, the influence of the former colonial powers which developed and in many cases founded them. In a recent paper, the author called for systematic study of the colonial city in Africa, now a matter of urgency while the urban pattern established by the colonial power is as yet unchanged by the new conditions of administration.¹ These conditions are likely to affect zoning laws and other controls of urban growth. What was found in the study of Lourenço Marques was an urban center in Africa displaying many of the characteristics of urban centers in Portugal—not only in terms of architectural appearance but also from the point of view of areal extent and internal organization. While the architectural imprint has been studied in several African cities, the aspect of functional organization, both in the entire city and in the cen-

¹ H. J. de Blij, "The Functional Structure and Central Business District of Lourenço Marques, Moçambique," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1962, pp. 56-77.

tral business district, requires more detailed investigation and produces highly significant results.²

Dar es Salaam is the capital, major port and largest city of Tanganyika. Founded by an Arab Sultan of Zanzibar, it has developed under the influence of Germany and Britain, while today it is the seat of government of the newly independent Republic of Tanganyika. One of the six significant harbors along over 4,000 miles of tropical East African coastline, Dar es Salaam is connected by rail to the shores of Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria (Fig. 1).³ It has served the interior beyond these limits, as for some years a portion of Katanga's imports and exports passed through this port. Tanganyika's road system, though yet rudimentary, converges upon the capital, which by virtue of its relatively large population is also the country's major domestic market.

The population of Dar es Salaam is approximately 150,000, and its ethnic composition is markedly heterogeneous.⁴ In 1957 there were some 94,000 Africans, about 28,000 Asiatics (including Indians, Pakistani, and Goans), 2,500 Arabs, and 4,500 whites. Since then the white sector has become somewhat smaller owing to the government's Africanization policies (the replacement of whites in government jobs by Africans) and fears of political instability. The African sector has grown considerably and there has been little change in the rate of growth of the Asian and Arab sectors.⁵

Dar es Salaam has undergone three distinct phases of evolution and has just embarked upon a fourth. The city plan is es-

² B. E. Thomas, "The Colonial Imprint on African Cities," *Program of the 58th Annual Meeting, Association of American Geographers*, 1962, pp. 71-72 (abstract).

³ The other major harbors linked directly by rail to relatively distant hinterlands are Port Sudan, Djibouti, Mombasa, Tanga (in Tanganyika), and Beira.

⁴ A. S. Reyner, "Tanganyika: Africa's Newest Country," *World Affairs*, Spring 1962. The 1957 census reported a total of 128,742 persons for the city proper.

⁵ For a discussion of these and other general aspects of the city's demography see the *Tanganyika Standard*, June 21, 1961.

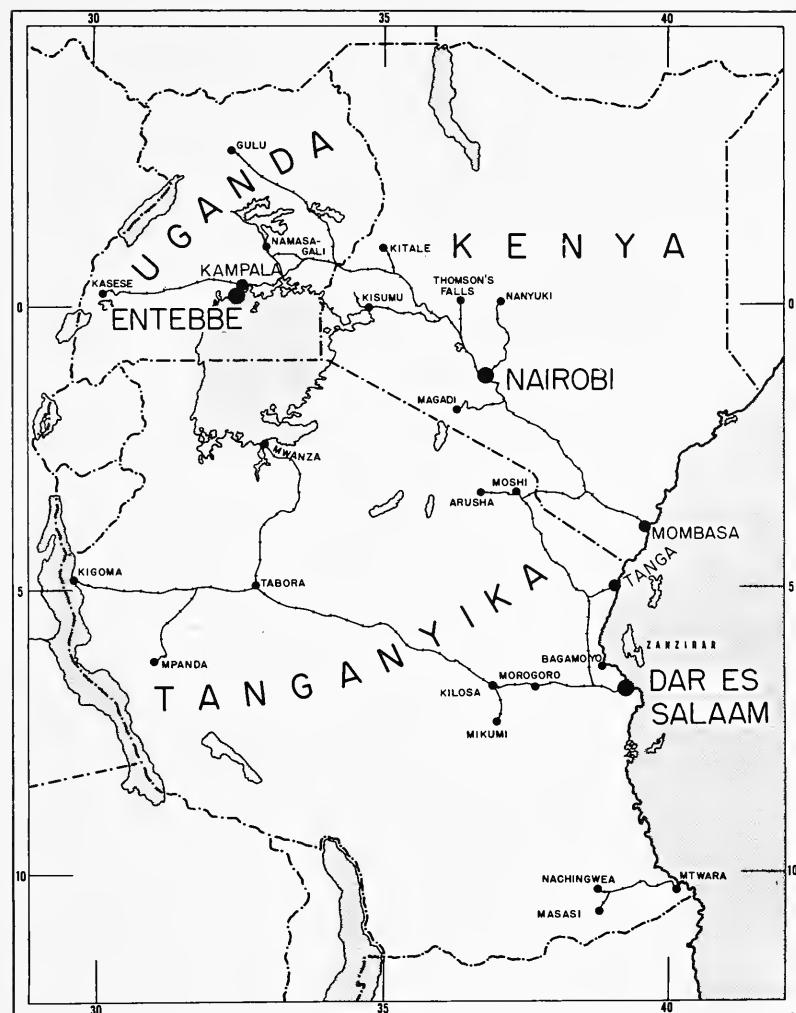


FIGURE 1 Location map of East Africa, showing major cities and towns served by railroads. Only the major lakes are shown. Information from Map No. 299A, published by the Directorate of Overseas Surveys, 1961.

sentially a legacy of European occupation, and the core of the town reflects the German impact upon the place which Sultan Majid had chosen as the center of his continental possessions.

After the First World War, when Tanganyika became a mandate territory administered on behalf of the League of Nations by Britain, Dar es Salaam began to display the imprints of British guardianship, especially during the decade preceding 1961, the year of independence. Since 1945 the territory had been a trusteeship of the United Nations, again under British administration. Tanganyika shared the effects of the Wind of Change with other African countries, but parallel with political developments came some economic progress. Much of this had its effects in Dar es Salaam, where an industrial complex began to develop. Whereas in 1948 the total value of external trade was about \$100 million, by 1960 it had increased to \$265 million.⁶

This recent phase in Dar es Salaam's growth produced many of the modern buildings in the town, the new Princess Margaret Quay in the port, road improvements (there are nearly 200 miles of surfaced roads in the city at present), and the first major effort to eradicate slum developments. As the seat of government for the young republic, the city has taken on added importance, and a large diplomatic representation has arrived from many foreign states. Already changes are taking place in long-established urban patterns as a result of the new conditions in the country.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Like many other cities in the former colonial spheres of Africa, Dar es Salaam was founded and developed by non-African interests. As such, the city, now ruled by Africans along with the entire country, is a legacy of alien practices. In the street layout, residential location and *de facto*, if not *de jure*, racial residential separation, architectural peculiarities, and several other characteristics, Dar displays features introduced through a sequence of individual ruling states. It also reflects an economic situation in which trade is dominantly in the hands of Asiatics and Arabs.

⁶ British Information Services, *Tanganyika: The Making of a Nation* (London: Cox and Sharland, 1961), p. 8.

Finally, its urban pattern shows the nature of the adjustments made in consequence of the heterogeneity of the population, and the social stratification paralleling this racial heterogeneity.

All these have resulted in an urban center which is in many ways unique, but which shares with other colonial cities of the immediate past the imprint of a transplanted culture. In time this imprint will disappear, although some of the larger-scale features may survive permanently. Though very obvious in a subjective sense (i.e., the decorative architecture of Portuguese African cities, sidewalk cafés resembling those of Paris and Brussels), the functional structure of the colonial city, and especially the character of its central business district, provide more objective and reliable data concerning the nature of the colonial heritage of the African city. In Lourenço Marques the great degree of vertical development in a nonetheless immature central business district, in addition to a characteristically small total areal extent of the city, formed important lines of evidence which will not soon be eradicated, whatever the future of Moçambique. In this Portuguese city, furthermore, there is a clustering of governmental buildings (unlike in former or present British Africa) and, in the central business district, a threefold partition on the basis of ownership, quality, type, and patronage of retail establishments which results from local historical, racial, and economic conditions, but which fails to eliminate significant parallels with Portuguese European towns of similar size.

The purpose of this study is to investigate to what extent Dar es Salaam reflects, as do other former and present colonial cities in Subsaharan Africa, the administration of the Arab Sultanate of Zanzibar, the German Empire of the turn of this century, and the British administration which followed. In addition, the effect which the particular racial agglomeration in this urban center has had upon the functional structure of the town will be studied, and special attention will focus upon the central business district for this purpose. The thesis is that in a city long under colonial rule and inhabited by several racial sectors of population, racial residential segregation is a part of the urban pattern,

and a racio-economic division exists within the central business district which may not be immediately evident but which emerges when specific retail functions are mapped.

THE METHOD OF APPROACH

There is a serious paucity of material concerning the problem under consideration, and there is little usable material in publication concerning Dar es Salaam. Hence, the functional structure of the city was mapped, providing information regarding its areal extent and internal organization. Data were gathered on the historical geography of the site and town, and the physical attributes of the former were recorded and are deemed to have played an important part in the urban development. Subsequently, the central business district was studied in detail. Information concerning land values, traffic and pedestrian flow was gathered, and the core of the city was mapped in detail. All retail establishments in the central business district were recorded in order to establish the retail node of this urban zone (to be defined in Chapter IV) and to determine whether the district is a unit or, as in Lourenço Marques, is fragmented. Finally, illustrative material was assembled to support the conclusions drawn.

Chapter II SITE AND HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

During the middle of the 19th century, the Sultanate of Zanzibar reached a zenith of prosperity and importance. The Sultan held sway over large coastal stretches on the African mainland as well as his island empire, which had thrived for many decades on the proceeds of the slave trade.

Indirectly it was the British who caused the founding of Dar es Salaam. It is frequently asserted that Sultan Majid, who first established an Arab settlement at Dar, selected the site as a continental capital for his extensive dominions in order to increase the effectiveness of his government there.¹ Actually the Sultan had experienced, during the opening years of his reign, increasing British interference in the affairs of his empire. It was a resulting uneasiness on his part which led him to seek an alternative headquarters, and with this purpose in mind he appears to have chosen Dar es Salaam—the “Haven of Peace.”²

¹ See, for instance, M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way*, Vol. II, Nairobi, East African Railways and Harbors, 1958, p. 19.

² K. Ingham, *A History of East Africa* (London: Longmans, 1962), p. 84.

Thus the suggestion that Dar was to aid the Sultan in asserting his power on the African continent seems invalid.

Dar es Salaam never gained importance during the remaining period of Arab hegemony along the East African coast. The British attacked the slave trade both in Zanzibar and along the shores of the continent, and Bagamoyo had long been the slave port located directly opposite the sultanate. Sultan Majid died in 1870, and the site was abandoned for several years. When British efforts against the slave trade began to focus upon the mainland, Dar es Salaam again experienced growth. In the mid-1870's Sir William Mackinnon and Sir Thomas Fowell were engaged in the construction of a road leading from the coast at Dar toward the northern end of Lake Nyasa. The object of this work was the replacing of the slave trade, still rampant here, by legitimate commerce. When, in 1881, Sir John Kirk visited the site, the road was over 70 miles in length. "As a philanthropic undertaking," he wrote, "it has been eminently successful . . ."³

Although the slave trade had long concentrated upon Bagamoyo, fifty miles north of the site of Dar es Salaam, the site of the latter was far more suitable for a port. The harbor of Bagamoyo was an open roadstead, but the caravan routes from here to the deep interior covered a somewhat shorter distance than would those from Dar. In addition, the proximity of Bagamoyo to the island of Zanzibar was a major factor in the development of Bagamoyo as a significant slave port.

Dar es Salaam, therefore, did not gain significance until the successors of the Arabs, the British and the Germans, established themselves here and recognized the advantages of the site. Settlement at Dar has been permanent since the beginning of Mackinnon's efforts, and by the mid-1880's the population is estimated to have been about 5,000. By this time, German interest in East Africa, fostered largely through the efforts of Karl Peters, was such that a German sphere of influence was

³ M. F. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

officially proclaimed.⁴ Dar es Salaam almost immediately became a garrison town and, as the Germans fought prolonged battles against the Africans in the interior, it grew rapidly.⁵ The European period of development in Dar es Salaam may thus be said to have begun in 1887; prior to this year, the British did little to develop the site, and the preceding Arab period left little trace.

THE SITE

The east coast of Africa does not provide many good harbor sites, and Dar es Salaam is one of few favored locations. The harbor itself is an estuary produced by the drowning of the mouth of an insignificant stream known as the Mzinga Creek. The entire site shows evidence of recent submergence, and there are dangerous shallow terraces at the mouth of the harbor requiring cautious high-water approach by piloted vessels. Further signs of drowning are the cliffs bounding the promontories, stacks and islands in the immediate vicinity of the harbor entrance, and the great depth of the estuary proper.

As a result of the fact that the stream which created the drowned valley was not large, the harbor is small (Fig. 2). The mouth is extremely narrow, and can accommodate only one vessel at a time. The harbor itself, however, is consequently extremely well protected. It is presently capable of handling three ocean-going ships along the Princess Margaret Quay, a number of coast vessels along the northern pier, and a tanker along the oil jetty (Figs. 3, 4). In addition, several ships can be serviced by lighters while off shore in the harbor, and there are repair facilities, including a dockyard for smaller vessels (Fig. 5).

The most serious liability of the site as a harbor is the size of the estuary, which will never be able to accommodate a large

⁴ D. L. Wiedner, *A History of Africa South of the Sahara* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 211 ff.

⁵ C. Dundas, *A History of German East Africa*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1923.



FIGURE 2 The site of Dar es Salaam, showing the narrow harbor entrance (extreme left), the estuary and harbor, the commercial core (center) and Princess Margaret Quay (right). In the lower part of the picture are the apartments of Upanga, in the lower right, the suburb of Kariakoo, and between Kariakoo and the commercial heart of the city is the "empty belt," to which reference is made in Chapter III. Facing south. (Tanganyika Government.)

number of ships. Considerable capital investment will be required to improve the present facilities, limited to the recently (1956) completed quay with its fifteen cranes and three berths. In contrast, Lourenço Marques' quay has fifteen such berths, and expansion is contemplated. The difference is that Lourenço Marques does not, in the Tembe river estuary, face the space limitations of Dar es Salaam. When further development of Dar's harbor takes place, the site will present some serious difficulties.

The site of the present municipality of Dar es Salaam is topographically undiversified, and lies mainly between twenty-five and fifty feet above sea level, although there are extensive areas below twenty-five feet. The area appears to be a terrace, lying as it does at the foot of a submaturely dissected region about six miles west of the center of town, where elevations reach 350 feet (Fig. 6). The dominating physical feature of the site, apart from the estuary, is a drainage system, emerging from the western upland and flowing across the entire terrace, converging upon Msimbazi Bay. This bay, like the harbor, is a drowned estuary, and the river system, having cut wide and deep swaths through the area, reaches a marshland well before seeping into the Indian Ocean. This riverine lowland, best defined as tidal and seasonal swamp, cannot be permanently occupied, but the town has developed around it (Fig. 9). The effectiveness of this natural barrier between various parts of the city will be recognized when it is noted that only two permanent roads cross it, one leading to all far northern suburbs, and one connecting the major western suburb to the central city. Both roads are heavily congested as a result.

The bluff which leads from the shore onto the terrace varies in degree of prominence and, to some extent, in its distance from the shore. In the northern sections of the area, it is a cliff bounding the entire terrace (as just north of Msimbazi Bay), although there are places where it suddenly disappears and makes way for beaches. It is fairly steep at the entrance to the harbor, where likewise it bounds the land area. In the harbor area and southward, however, it retreats slightly inland, provid-



FIGURE 3 Princess Margaret Quay, showing cranes, railroad equipment and loading in progress.

ing some space for various installations at the water's edge. For all intents and purposes, however, the bluff does not perform a dividing function in Dar es Salaam as it does, for instance, in Port Elizabeth. There are, in addition to the swamplands, some areas which, because of their low elevation, are less suitable for permanent occupation than others; but except for these, there are no major topographic barriers to urban development.

Climatically, only those areas which lie close to the ocean are somewhat favored; no part of the site escapes the humidity and heat for which Dar is almost legendarily known. There are some large sisal plantations in the immediate vicinity of the town, one of which is being invaded by the northernmost suburb, Oyster Bay. But soils here are poor, and much of the original vegetation survives, consisting of palm trees and coarse grasses. Tanganyika provides many more attractive places from the environmental point of view, but the entire coast resembles this region physiographically, and in this respect the site of Dar is neither better nor worse than that of Tanga in the north or Mtwara in the south.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITE

The advent of the steamship led directly to the modern development of Dar es Salaam, for the use of the port of Bagomoyo became impracticable while the advantages of Dar (already recognized by Sultan Majid in 1857) multiplied. The German Imperial Government, which initially used Bagomoyo as a capital for the new sphere of German influence, in 1891 transferred the seat of government to Dar es Salaam. By 1903 many buildings had been constructed, including hospitals, a number of government department offices, a post office, and the meteorological station. The large Lutheran Church, still dominating part of the skyline of the city, was built before the First World War. A number of private dwellings were also built during these early years along present-day Independence Avenue (formerly known as Acacia Avenue) in the eastern part of the town.

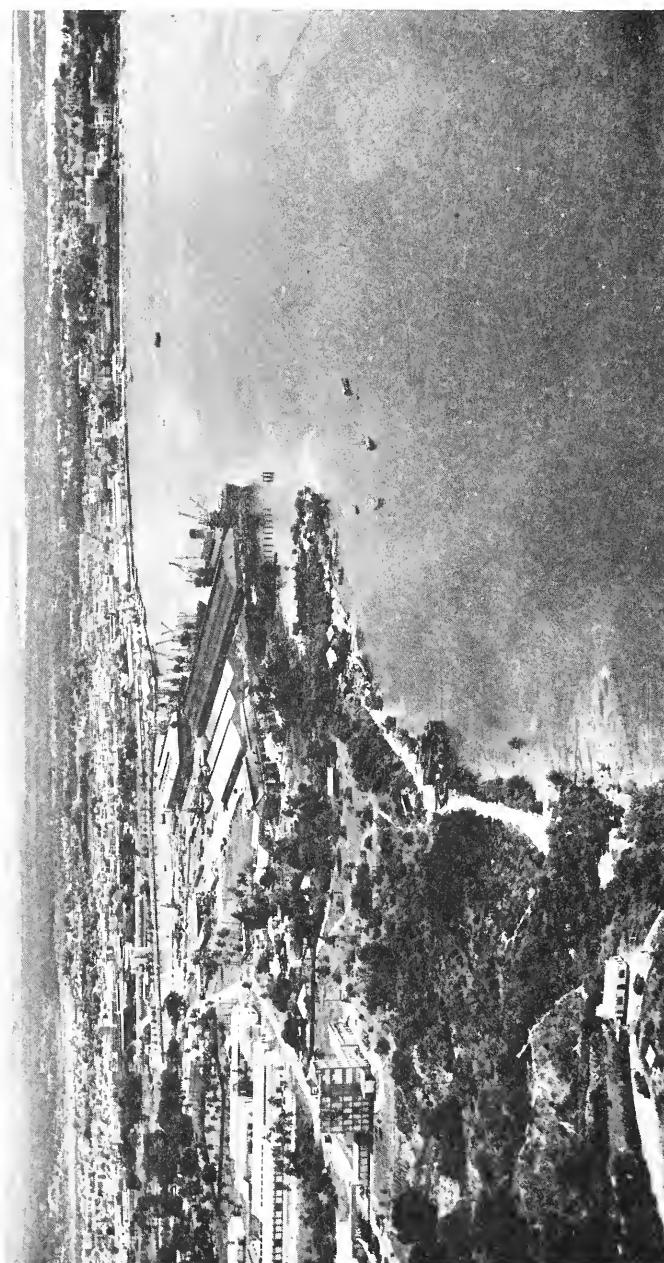


FIGURE 4 Showing the estuary, Princess Margaret Quay, lighterage quay (beyond) and the coastline north of the city, including Msambazi Bay. Facing north. (Tanganyika Government.)



FIGURE 5 The commercial core of Dar es Salaam, dominated by the Standard Bank Building (right) and the German-built Cathedral (left). In the foreground a vessel is being unloaded by lighterage.



FIGURE 6 Overlooking the central part of Dar es Salaam, this view shows the extent of the terrace upon which the city is developing. In the background the bluff leading to the adjacent, somewhat higher area can be seen.

The Germans, in addition to giving an architectural character to the town in its initial stages of modern development (Fig. 7), also laid out a street plan which has controlled urban growth in the downtown area ever since. While such cities as Nairobi and Salisbury, British-influenced throughout their history, possess a mainly rectangular street pattern of large blocks and wide, well-planned streets and intersections, Dar es Salaam's layout is very different. Here, streets converge at various angles upon a number of traffic circles; streets are generally narrow, city blocks are irregular in size and shape, and congestion, in spite of the moderate number of motor vehicles, is considerable.

Initially, the harbor of Dar es Salaam was little improved, since no urgent need presented itself. Indeed, throughout the German period of occupation, this was a lighterage port, and the modern facilities were not constructed until the mid-1950's. The city itself—i.e., the "European" section—developed immediately opposite the northernmost part of the estuary and eastward onto the promontory forming the wedge-shaped obstruction to a wider entrance channel. Physiographically this



FIGURE 7 An example of architectural contributions in Dar es Salaam's townscape made by Germany. This is a governmental building, lying to the east of the commercial core.

is the most favored area in close proximity to what has become the downtown area, since it lies somewhat higher than its immediate surroundings, and is the one area in Dar to be surrounded on two sides by water. Here, also, the Germans (and the British subsequently) planted a large number of trees which have become large and useful providers of a commodity direly needed in the city—shade. This region, immediately east of the city's core, has been the location of government buildings from the beginning, though some private residences survive here to this day (Fig. 8).

A racial residential segregation developed in these early years. The Asiatic and Arab residents of Dar es Salaam (of whom the Asiatics were to become much more numerous later) agglomerated to the west and northwest of the area occupied by the white government officials and other residents; beyond, a large African location began to develop. This concentric pattern of racial residential suburbs has been destroyed by later growth, but its elements are still visible in a direction due west from the heart of the downtown area. For many years the urban sprawl of Dar remained south of the latitude of Msimbazi Bay, the growth of the northern suburbs being a comparatively recent phenomenon.

PROGRESS AND STAGNATION

Karl Peters, whose role in securing German overlordship in this part of East Africa had been paramount, was the first Governor of the region, and he considered the opening of the hinterland of Dar es Salaam a matter of prime importance. He therefore supervised the planning of a railroad system linking Dar to the most distant parts of the territory, essential not only for the development of commerce but also for the effective administration of the colony. Thus, by 1907, the capital was connected by rail to Morogoro, the nearest significant town in the hinterland. In 1912 the railroad reached Tabora, and in 1914 Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika. A branch line was subsequently constructed by the British to Mwanza on Lake Victoria.

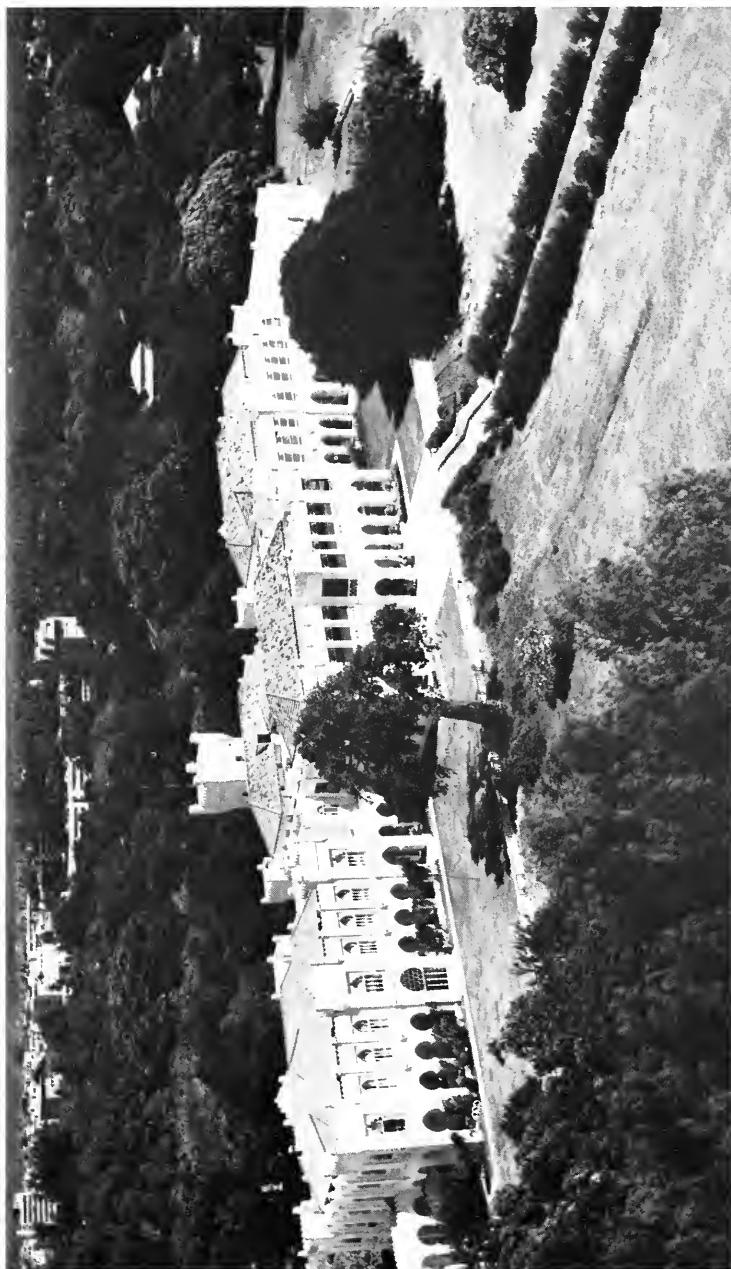


FIGURE 8 Still one of the largest structures in the city, this architecturally peculiar building was erected by the Germans in the area where governmental functions were concentrated. (Tanganyika Government.)

Meanwhile Tanganyika's soil, in general usable only in subsistence agriculture, proved capable of good yields of sisal, which rapidly became the most important industry in the country, the bulk of the exports going through Dar es Salaam.

Having made some progress in the economic organization of the territory while subduing the still rebellious African peoples, German representatives in East Africa found themselves in a major war in 1914, which was to do considerable injury to that which was of a positive nature among those things which had been achieved. Dar es Salaam, already the headquarters for a sizeable German force during the early years, now became overcrowded by military and administrative personnel, and sustained serious damage in the hostilities. After the German defeat, the British actually administered German East Africa temporarily from other locations, there being no space of any kind available in Dar. Not until 1919 were the civil headquarters again transferred to the former German capital.

The first decades of British administration in what now became known as Tanganyika saw little real progress. The railroads connecting Dar es Salaam to the interior were repaired (practically all bridges had been destroyed during the war campaign) and the Mwanza connection was built. In addition, there was some development in the agricultural field. There also was some political advancement, mainly for non-Africans, as Dar es Salaam was the scene of the first meeting of an embryo Legislative Council in 1926. But the slump of 1920 struck Tanganyika as it did the world, and when the first steps toward recovery were being taken, the great depression struck in 1929. Actually, Tanganyika had barely begun to recover from the effects of the war by 1920, and the country had continued throughout the decade in stagnation rather than experiencing a major collapse. But the effects of the great depression were near-disastrous. Africans had for some years been lured away from a subsistence form of agriculture into several forms of cash-cropping, as certain areas of Tanganyika had been found suitable for specialized crops. Then prices declined drastically, and

dissatisfaction was rife. All this was reflected in Dar es Salaam as well as in other towns in East Africa, where there was little development of any kind. With a few exceptions, what was noteworthy in the capital was a legacy of achievements made during the German period of administration.

The Second World War brought renewed instability to Tanganyika, as exemplified by the great fluctuations in the price of the major export commodity, sisal. At first, its availability elsewhere and its bulkiness in transportation were factors which reduced demand and prices. Then, with the entry into the war of Japan, the situation changed and the country's sisal suddenly became a vital product. In spite of the fact that Tanganyika, before the Second World War, had been a British-administered mandate of the League of Nations, local males fought on the side of the Allies in the war.

Tanganyika emerged from the war to face a new future, reflected almost immediately in the capital where, for the first time in decades, there was something resembling a building boom. In 1945 the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed, and in 1947 a ten-year plan for the country's development took effect. In spite of the unfortunate failure of the British Government's Groundnut Scheme in southern Tanganyika, other less grandiose and better prepared plans did succeed. Plans for the improvement of the harbor at Dar es Salaam were executed and the deep water berths now available were completed in 1956. Tanganyika, having become a United Nations trusteeship territory, again administered by Britain, moved swiftly toward political independence, achieved in 1961. Dar es Salaam remained the capital of the new state (soon to become a republic) and many new buildings, for government departments, consular staffs, and businesses, indicative of the confidence of investors in this African country, were constructed.

The most recent stage of development at Dar es Salaam is unique in that, for the first time, an indigenous leadership is the guiding hand. If the recent past is any indication, the city will continue to grow while handling increasing amounts of trade.

If the events of a somewhat more distant past in other parts of Africa are to be repeated here, there will be important internal changes.

Chapter III SITUATION AND FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE

Dar es Salaam has two domestic competitors for Tanganyika's external trade. In the north, Tanga lies opposite the Kilimanjaro-Arusha-Moshi region, where a variety of crops, including coffee, are grown successfully. In the extreme south, near the mouth of the Rovuma river, lies Mtwara, for which port a bright future was foreseen at the time of the Groundnut Scheme. In addition, some of northern Tanganyika's exports have gone through the port of Mombasa. Dar es Salaam, however, still handles several times as much trade as its rival ports combined.

Although located centrally along the Tanganyika coast, Dar es Salaam does not possess a rich immediate hinterland. Whereas Tanga lies adjacent to vast sisal producing areas and tea plantations (in addition to the more distant, but still relatively nearby Kilimanjaro region), Dar lies in a smaller, coconut producing zone. Around Morogoro there is cotton, seed (castor and sunflower), and some sisal cultivation, but much of the capital's trade comes from the more distant hinterland to which it has the good fortune of being connected by rail. The pivotal im-

portance of the central line to Kigoma is illustrated by the trade contributions now coming along the branch lines constructed north and south from this artery. Major contributors are the Mwanza region on Lake Victoria (cotton, sisal, sugar, diamonds) and the lead producing area of Mpanda. Furthermore, the railroad itself has influenced development, and a ribbon of groundnut, sorghum, millet, and sisal cultivation, among other crops, lies across a region which otherwise is characterized by savanna vegetation and scattered cattle raising.¹

In 1960 the port of Dar es Salaam handled exports to a value of some \$160 million and imports valued at \$108 million.² Sisal, cotton, and coffee remain the staple exports of the country, contributing about sixty per cent of the total. Virtually all the trade for which Dar es Salaam acts as the break-of-bulk is domestic, for unlike Mombasa, Beira, and Lourenço Marques it is not connected to an international hinterland in such a manner as to permit competition for foreign goods. Although in fact linked by rail to the Mombasa-Uganda line, the connection (Fig. 1) is such that Mombasa and Tanga are in virtually invulnerable positions for the bulk of the northern external trade. The connection to Katanga, often discussed and planned, never improved beyond a laborious river-rail-lake steamer sequence involving four transhipments. In 1921 Belgium and Britain came to an agreement whereby Belgium was granted concessions at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, and exempting traffic to and from the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi from Tanganyika customs duties.³ In spite of this 1921 Convention, Dar es Salaam captured little of the Congo's trade at any time. In 1937, while Matadi was handling 532,000 tons of Congo trade, and Lobito some 384,000 tons, Dar es Salaam transhipped 7,900 tons of

¹ This situation is dramatically shown in H. Fullard's *Modern College Atlas for Africa* (London: Philip, 1961), p. 56.

² *Tanganyika Standard*, April 28, 1961.

³ Geographical Handbook Series, *The Belgian Congo*, Naval Intelligence Division, 1944, p. 219.

trade for the Belgians, mainly for Ruanda-Urundi.⁴ The proportion has never been more favorable to Dar.

Although not at present a trade port of international significance, Dar es Salaam is a port of call for several major passenger lines, and by virtue of its good airport and governmental importance it is also served by a number of airlines. It is the focal point for all modes of communication in the central part of eastern Tanganyika and most of the western part of the country. In spite of its peripheral location and its environmental disadvantages (which are shared by its coastal rivals) the city is the commercial, educational, and administrative hub of the republic.

FUNCTIONS

Dar es Salaam is the chief industrial center of Tanganyika, a major tourist center, the country's largest domestic market, and a melting pot of several racially diverse population sectors. The city faces few effective barriers to horizontal expansion, although the direction of growth is controlled somewhat by the lowlying land and, of course, the coast and estuary.

The urban pattern which has resulted displays a number of elements of concentricity. In several directions from the core (Fig. 9) there are blocks which are occupied by functions characteristic of a middle zone, but the middle zone is not continuous. Beyond there is an outer zone consisting of industrial areas, residential suburbs, and transportation belts. Here, also, lie parks, schools, and sport grounds.

The immediately obvious feature of Dar es Salaam's urban pattern is its fragmentation, caused by the seasonal and tidal swampland cutting across the site. However, the urban sprawl is further characterized by separation, especially in the outer zone, between the various functional zones, even where such separation is not induced by the physical attributes of the site. Here is a strong contrast to Lourenço Marques, which has a much smaller total urban area and which has contiguity among

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

various functional zones. This aspect of Dar is of significance, since it is repeated in the outer zones of cities such as Port Elizabeth and Nairobi; it is not a characteristic to the same degree of Luanda, Leopoldville, or Dakar.⁵ Indeed, Dar es Salaam exemplifies one of the recurring features of the British-African city in displaying a great deal of sprawl and separation of the functional zones in the outer zone.

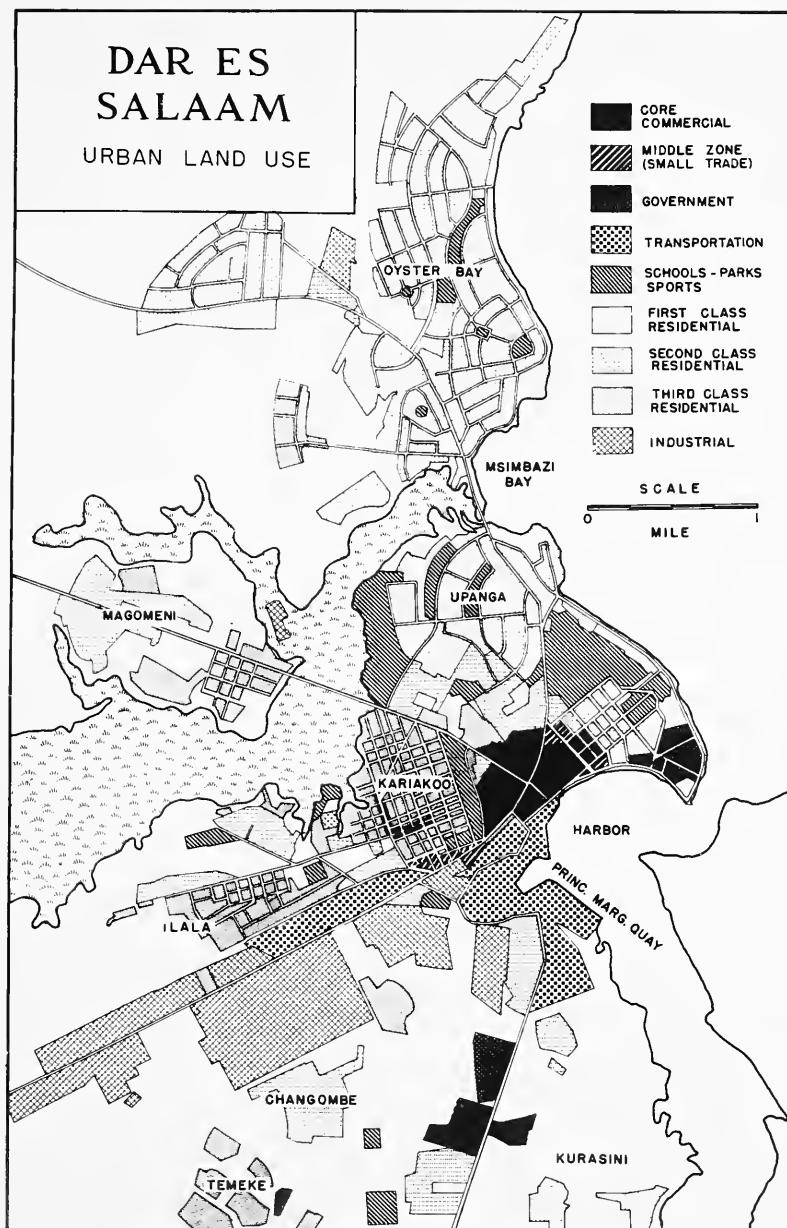
A second aspect revealed by the map of urban land use (Fig. 9) is the absence of any regularity in the urban pattern. Although, as stated previously, there are elements of concentricity, the outline of the coast and estuary and the location of the harbor (and consequently the core of the city) preclude the possibility even of semi-concentricity here. Due northward from the peak value intersection in the core (which lies in the eastern part of this region) the sequence is ideal: central business district, middle zone of small trade and warehouses, second class residential area of southern Upanga, and first class residential suburb of Oyster Bay.⁶ But due west from the central business district, there is no such succession.

Thus the urban land use map may very well be interpreted as resembling a series of pie-shaped sectors rather than concentric belts of functional zones: a transport and industrial sector in the south, a second and third class residential sector in the west, a first class residential zone in the north, and a governmental sector in the east, all radiating outward from a some-

⁵ B. S. Young, "Some Aspects of the Central Business District of Port Elizabeth, Cape Province," *South African Journal of Social Research*, Vol. 12, No. 1, May 1961.

⁶ The classification of residences used here is identical to that employed in previous studies—i.e., the state of repair of the dwelling, its age, the material used for construction (the use of corrugated iron sheets for the roof normally labels a single family residence as second class, thatch for the room and mud for the walls, third class, etc.), and the size and quality of the garden, as well as the quality of the backyard, including servants' quarters (see Figs. 10-15).

FIGURE 9 Generalized map of urban land use in Dar es Salaam, showing the relative location of the city's major functional zones.



what fragmented core. Indeed, the four major roads converging upon the central business district pass through very different zones. The Bagamoyo road from the north passes through first class residential Oyster Bay, the Morogoro Road from the west through second and third class residential Magomeni and Kariakoo, the Pugu road from the southwest through the industrial zone, and the Kilwa road from the south through the transportation sector.

Finally, the urban map of Dar es Salaam suggests an agglomeration of a number of individual towns and villages around a common core, but each with their own nucleus and surrounding functional zones. Such an interpretation is strongly supported by the third class residential zone of Kariakoo, which possesses its own market and central business district, and by Magomeni. Upanga, however, does not have a business district, and Oyster Bay is only in the first stages of producing one.

INDIVIDUAL FUNCTIONAL ZONES

The core of Dar es Salaam consists of the central business district. This zone will be considered in detail subsequently, but it should be indicated here that the boundary of this district is well defined. This is due in large measure to the absence of a continuous and surrounding middle zone of transition; where the middle zone can be recognized, the boundary is less easily distinguishable. Compared to the total area of Dar es Salaam (thirty-one square miles), the core is not large. This is indicative of the British influence in urban development; it is found also in Port Elizabeth and Bulawayo, but not in Lourenço Marques or Beira, where the CBD occupies a far greater percentage of the total area of the city.

The core of the capital is characterized by a large permanently resident population (in spite of the considerable degree of verticals development, upper floors are more frequently occupied by families than by offices), by some empty lots in the heart of the zone (further evidence of its immaturity), and by a regional division which will be considered in the following chapter.

A middle zone of warehouses, small trade, and occasional light industry can be identified in a few blocks around the margins of the CBD. This is a zone of deterioration, and retail establishments are rare. It is of limited extent mainly because of the existence, immediately to the west of the CBD (and where a middle zone might be expected), of an unoccupied, empty belt separating the core from Kariakoo. This apparent anomaly in the structure of central Dar es Salaam has a historical background involving the concentric arrangement of racial living areas alluded to previously. From the earliest days of German occupation, a buffer zone developed between the African and non-African zones in the town.

Today this empty stretch, locally often referred to as a "cordon sanitaire," separates the western "non-European" region of the core from Kariakoo, the residential suburb occupied mainly by Africans and characterized by third class, single-family residences (Fig. 2). The western part of the core is mainly an Asiatic area, so that the empty belt separates African residential areas from the Asian commercial zone. The belt (once a slum area, cleared by a zealous British town clerk) survives largely because of economic considerations. The poor quality of the residences in Kariakoo indicates why the land of the belt is beyond the means of the township's residents. CBD expansion into the belt involves the risk of adjacency to the poverty and deterioration of Kariakoo, and Asians have been reluctant to make this investment. In any event, the continued existence of the belt was deemed desirable by the British prior to independence. Since the country became independent, the economic realities have kept the belt virtually empty. The government, in an effort to bridge the gap, has used the area for the construction of several community buildings, but little private purchase has resulted. Finally, it should be emphasized that Kariakoo produces few of the customers of the core CBD of Dar es Salaam, so that proximity to Kariakoo does not necessarily enhance a retail establishment's position with reference to the consumers. Reasons for this will be stated later.

The outer zone of Dar es Salaam consists of the residential suburbs, industrial areas, and transportation zone. The residential areas are concentrated in the west and north, and the remaining zones in the south of the municipality. However, some scattered residential suburbs also lie in the south, such as Temeke, Changombe, and Kurasini.

Suburbs consisting chiefly of first class residences are virtually confined to the stretch of land north of the core and nearest to the ocean (Figs. 10-18). South of Msimbazi Bay, Upanga is partly first class and partly second class, the south showing signs of deterioration consequent upon proximity to the CBD and middle zone. Upanga, unlike Oyster Bay further north, consists mainly of multiple-family residential structures, which are more susceptible to deterioration. A large portion of Upanga is occupied by Asians. Oyster Bay, on the other hand, until very recently was an exclusive, non-African residential area where government members, wealthy merchants, and others in the high-income group lived. Dar es Salaam's most magnificent residences are found here (Figs. 10, 11).

Recently the character of Oyster Bay has changed in several respects. It is no longer a racially exclusive suburb; Africans in the Tanganyika Government and consular representatives from other African and Asian countries (among others from other continents) have made this suburb their home. Building continues, and a large sisal plantation in the north is now being parcelled into residential lots. In addition, a shopping center is under construction, in response to the ever-increasing distance of the new residences from the central business district.

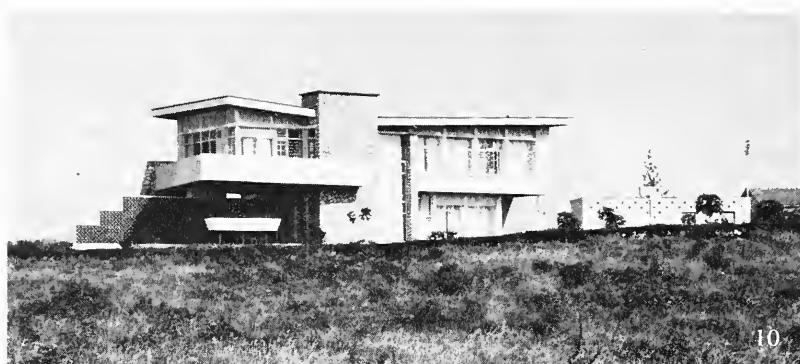
Only one small area consisting of less than a dozen first class residences exists at present to the south of the central city. These lie in Kurasini, and the main disadvantage of location here is the proximity to transportation zones and industrial development. Also, the road connections to the core are inconvenient, involving laborious travel through the congested industrial-transportation zone. Kurasini, therefore, has not challenged Oyster Bay as a popular high class suburb, in spite of the dis-

tances from northern Oyster Bay to the center of Dar es Salaam.

While first class residences in Dar es Salaam were occupied until very recently solely by whites and some wealthy Asians, second class residential areas signify mainly Asian occupancy, although improvements are being made in several African-occupied suburbs also. Typical of these areas are southern Upanga (where multiple family residences predominate) and, in the south, Changombe. The former is occupied mainly by people who work in the central part of the city, but the latter is tied directly to the industrial zone (Fig. 13). South of the industrial area, Changombe is the dominantly Asiatic residential suburb, while third class Temeke is the African dormitory town.

The correlation between African occupancy and third class residences has long been the normal situation in the vast majority of urban centers in Subsaharan Africa, and Dar es Salaam is still no exception, although the rather rigid racial residential segregation of the past is breaking down. However, African suburbs, such as Ilala (southwest of Kariakoo) and Magomeni, are being improved, with mud-and-thatch structures being torn down in favor of permanent brick-and-tile houses (Fig. 12). Much progress has been made in Magomeni, where the outer part of the suburb has been transformed.

Most of Dar es Salaam's 150,000 residents, however, continue to live in third class, single family dwellings. There are two major suburbs in this category, namely Kiriakoo (with its southwestern extension, Ilala) and eastern Magomeni. In addition there are several other smaller sections, such as the area immediately east of the main industrial block and the suburb west of southern Oyster Bay (the former houses industrial workers, the latter domestic servants for Oyster Bay). These are areas of abject poverty, where streets are not improved, sewerage systems often non-existent, and other facilities scarce at best. Kariakoo is the most hopeful, being the best organized and most permanent of these suburbs, where some scattered improvement of structures has taken place. The area is one mainly of



FIGURES 10-15 These photographs illustrate the contrasts in residential quality in the various suburbs of Dar es Salaam. First class residences are typical of Oyster Bay (Figs. 10, 11). Second class houses occur in Ilala



(Fig. 12) and Changombe (Fig. 13). Third class dwellings were photographed near the edge of the commercial core (Fig. 14) and in Kariakoo (Fig. 15). All houses illustrated are single-family dwellings.



FIGURES 16-18 There is considerable variation in the quality of multi-family residential structures. The high class apartment building pictured in Fig. 16 lies in northern Upanga, as do the buildings in Fig. 17. In contrast to these first class buildings, Fig. 18 illustrates the deteriorated second class multi-family residences found in the upper floors of the CBD. This view is along Arab Street, on the fringe of the commercial area.





FIGURES 19-24 Views in Kariakoo and Ilala, third class residential suburbs in Dar es Salaam. Street scenes (Figs. 19, 20) indicate the unimproved street surfaces but presence of street lighting, and the nature



of the dwellings, in Kariakoo. A street in Ilala is pictured in Fig. 21. Everywhere, the *duka* stores occupy corner locations (Figs. 22, 23). The "empty stretch" across the zone between Kariakoo and the commercial core is illustrated in Fig. 24.

single family residences, but, because of crowding of structures and frequent occupancy by more than one family, population density is very high.

Kariakoo is the oldest of the all-African suburbs in Dar, Africans having lived in this area almost from the day that German expansion began (Figs. 19-24). As a result it is the one African suburb in Dar es Salaam to possess some multistory development, and a commercial zone of considerable size (Figs. 25-27). Kariakoo is spread about the city's market, where Africans are the majority of the customers. In the south the commercial zone has a wide variety of retail establishments, and as a result the suburb is almost self-contained. Lower prices and proximity of the Kariakoo business district, which extends along the two major roads through the suburb, help account for the scarceness of African customers in the city's commercial core. In addition, practically every residential block in Kariakoo includes one or more stores of the *duka* type (Figs. 22, 23, 25). These stores, which usually occupy corner locations, sell everyday household requirements. Like most of the businesses in Kariakoo's commercial zone, these are operated by Asians or Arabs.

The industrial establishments of Dar es Salaam are, with a few exceptions, concentrated in a well-planned zone along the Pugu Road in the southwest of the city, adjacent to the main rail transport arteries. There are factories manufacturing cigarettes, textiles, furniture, and shoes, and there is a corned beef canning plant (Figs. 28, 29). Large, modern establishments have recently been built, but industrial activity is confined to the production of goods for local consumption and the treatment of some agricultural products. Nevertheless, Dar es Salaam is the only industrial center in Tanganyika of any significance.

The transportation zone lies immediately to the south of the central city, extending around the estuary and along the Kilwa Road, and stretching along the industrial zone. The railroad comes into Dar from the southwest, and the railroad yards and sheds occupy much of the southern part of the municipality.



FIGURES 25-27 Improvements in Kariakoo. Fig. 25 illustrates the changes in progress in this African suburb. Taken in the commercial zone of the township, this photograph shows the old (*duka-type*) store to the right, and the modern stores appearing on the left. Fig. 26 shows the new College, built deliberately amid the shacks of Kariakoo. Tanganyika African National Union headquarters are shown in Fig. 27.





FIGURE 28 Modern industrial plant in the industrial zone of Dar es Salaam.

There is a serious bottleneck adjacent to Kariakoo in the south, but there are no space problems elsewhere. The railroads enter the area of both Princess Margaret and the lighterage quays. Many Ilala and Kariakoo residents are employed in this complex.

Governmental and administrative buildings are concentrated to the east of the core of Dar es Salaam (the southern area along the Kilwa Road is mainly a police training school and barracks). The degree of concentration of these functions is related to the German period of occupation: in other cities wholly developed by Britain, administrative buildings are often widely scattered throughout the urban area. Such dispersion as does exist in Dar es Salaam has come about since the British accepted the mandate in 1919. Initial evidence is that the Tan-



FIGURE 29 A shoe factory in the industrial zone. This view is taken across the Pugu road, which adjoins the railroad lines.

ganyika Government will continue to concentrate the governmental activities in one area.

In the functional structure of Dar es Salaam, therefore, the significant features appear to be: first, the large area of the municipality; second, the territorial separation of various functional zones or sectors by natural or artificial means; third, the correlation of race and living standards (and, consequently, residential quality); fourth, the concentration in one area of industry; and fifth, the limited dispersal of governmental and administrative functions. In addition, the commercial core of the city possesses several peculiarities which will be considered in the following chapters.

Chapter IV CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: DELIMITATION AND DIVISION

The core of Dar es Salaam is occupied almost entirely by the central business district. Though lying near the harbor, the core is rather effectively separated from this part of the city by the low region occupied by the railroad lines (Fig. 9). Elsewhere the core is surrounded by residential areas or by empty land, and this region is thus easily identified.

The specific definition of the region properly recognized as the CBD presents problems. The district extends along Independence Avenue from southwest to northeast, and lies on either side of Selous Street running northwest to southeast (Fig. 30 provides all street names used in this volume). A reconnaissance immediately indicates that the largest, best-stocked, and highest quality retail establishments do not lie centrally to the core, but in the east, about the intersection of Independence Avenue and Ingles Street (the Askari Monument Circle). Here, also, vertical development is greatest (Figs. 31, 32, 33, 34), and the Askari

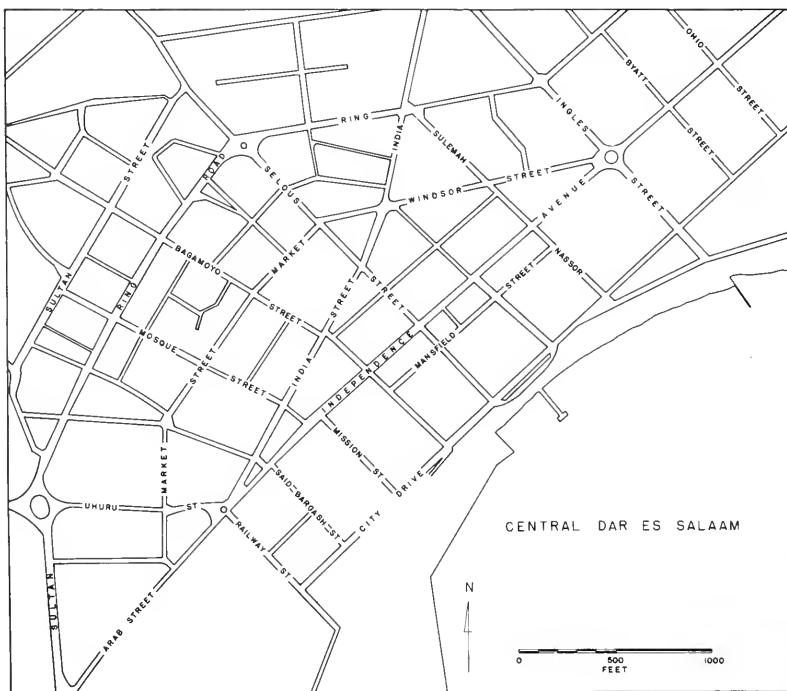


FIGURE 30 Street names in central Dar es Salaam. The Askari Circle is at the intersection of Independence Avenue and Ingles Street.

Circle is one of the hubs of the core area in terms of vehicular traffic. Most of the building presently in progress is taking place within two blocks of this location.

Nevertheless, these conditions are not attended by other features which might be expected in the highest quality region of the CBD. Especially noteworthy is the high incidence of unused land in the very blocks which lie adjacent to the Independence-Ingles intersection, whereas blocks a quarter mile west are frequently completely occupied. Furthermore, instead of dwindling in all directions from the Askari Circle, traffic, especially pedestrian flow, is greater at certain points elsewhere in the central business district.



FIGURE 31 The Askari Circle, the heart of the high quality stores of Dar es Salaam's commercial core. Note the empty land relatively near this peak value intersection. The modern multistory building on the left and the building under construction in the upper-right of this illustration.

Land values, however, support the contention that the Askari Circle is the nodal point of the CBD of Dar es Salaam. The block immediately south of the Circle contains Dar's highest priced land—between fifty-one and sixty shillings per square foot (Fig. 35)¹: On the adjacent block, one section fetches between forty-one and fifty shillings per square foot, but these two areas are small and exceptional: the bulk of the area around the Askari Circle is valued at between thirty-six and forty shillings and from this figure declines in all directions. The significant feature emerging from the map of land values is the con-

¹ Twenty shillings equals about \$2.80. Data for this section were gathered and provided to the author by real estate expert T. P. Madhani.



FIGURE 32 The Standard Bank Building, largest in Dar es Salaam's commercial core, and among the nearest to the peak value intersection.

sistent increase along both sides of Independence Avenue toward the Ingles intersection; indeed, this map, viewed without the accompaniment of other data, could easily lead to completely erroneous impressions of the nature of the CBD.

An additional aspect of the CBD emerging from a reconnaissance is the variation, according to internal area, of the racial characteristics of the customers. Around the peak value intersection, most of the shoppers are whites, with some Asians also present. There are virtually no African customers to be seen here. Westward, however, this changes. Where Independence Avenue becomes Arab Street, and where Windsor Street changes to Market Street, Asians form by far the great majority of the shopping public, though some Arabs and Africans also appear. The number of whites among the customers varies inversely



FIGURE 33 A modern, tall office building. The Askari Monument can be seen in the extreme right of this picture (facing north along Ingles Street), and the stores in view occupy the most expensive land in the city.

with distance from the Askari Circle, but the total number of persons on the sidewalks is not significantly less in the western part of the commercial area.



FIGURE 34 Vertical development around the peak value intersection. Several of the upper floors, however, are not office space but residential apartments, a significant aspect of the Central Business District of the city.

Most significant of the initial impressions of the commercial core of Dar es Salaam is perhaps that of variation in block size and shape, as well as intensity of occupance. As a result of the core area's peculiar street pattern, there is none of the rectangular regularity here that characterizes cities such as Nairobi and Salisbury (or the modern section of Lourenço Marques). A further result is a great range in the sizes of the individual blocks. Near the peak value intersection there are blocks with total frontages of over 1,800 feet, adjacent to which there are blocks whose total frontage fails to reach 900 feet. As a consequence there are blocks which are congested and where buildings vie for available space, whereas others are partly empty. Some blocks are well separated by wide roadways, such

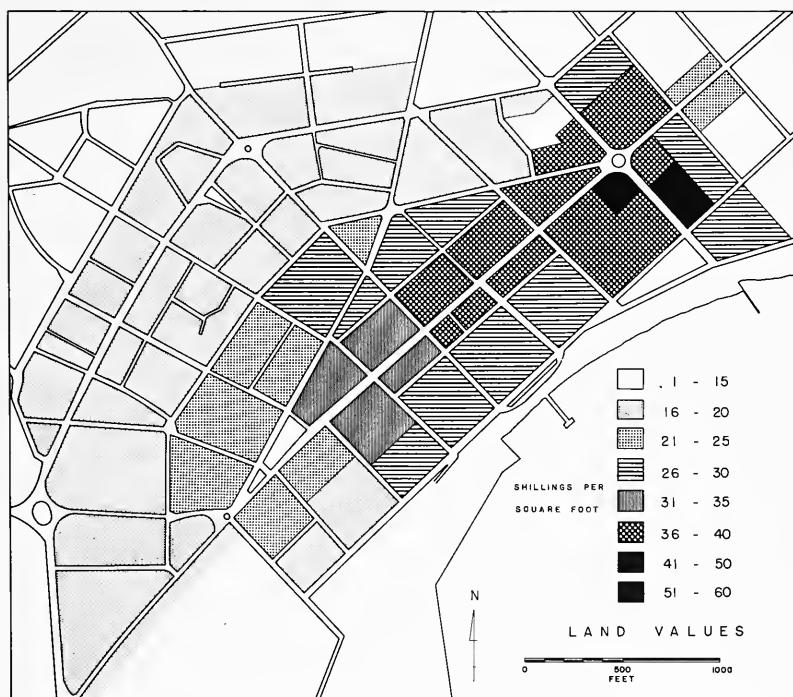


FIGURE 35 Map of Land Values in the core region of Dar es Salaam. Note the high value of land around the Askari Circle and the general decrease westward, as well as the apparent anomaly at the intersection of Indian and Selous Streets.

as Independence Avenue, while others are clustered so tightly together that even one-way traffic leaves little parking space (Figs. 36, 37, 38).

Finally, it immediately becomes obvious that the vertical development of Dar's commercial core is deceptive. Multi-story buildings are common, but upper floors are rarely occupied by offices. With the exception of the buildings about the peak value intersection (where some upper floors are occupied by lawyers' and other offices), these multi-story buildings are partly commercial (the first floor of shops) and partly residential, with



FIGURES 36-38 Aspects of the CBD of Dar es Salaam. Independence Avenue is the widest, among the busiest, and the highest class shopping street in the city (Fig. 36). Note the sizeable display windows, in contrast to the street in the Asian section illustrated in Fig. 37. Even along such narrow alleys as that shown in Fig. 38, retail establishments are located.



the floors above the first commonly occupied by the owners of the retail establishments below. In some cases even the first or ground floor is in part residential, accounting for the low incidence of retail establishments in the fringe areas of the core.

DELIMITATION OF THE CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

The observations recorded above greatly complicate the delimitation of the CBD of Dar es Salaam. The usefulness of the land value data is impaired by the nature of the urban pattern here, i.e., the residential remnants and the spatial separation of the structures. The large size of certain of the blocks results in the incomplete occupance of the available land even if frontage occupance is complete. In other words, stores along the frontage of the block do not take up more than the other edge of the large area. The inner section of the block remains empty, is used as parking or open storage space, or may be occupied by nondescript sheds and shacks (Fig. 39).² Some stores protrude farther into this inner section of the block than do others. The entire block is mapped as in the same land value category, although from the point of view of CBD functional occupance the value will become real only when multi-story buildings, based on the bulk of the block and non-residential in nature, are established here. The CBD, therefore, shows signs of considerable immaturity, a situation which greatly complicates the delimitation of the CBD by methods such as the one suggested by Murphy and Vance.³ This problem was also encountered in Lourenço Marques, where a procedure was devised to cope with it.⁴ This method will again be employed in the present study, and is based upon the retail occupance of the available frontage in the core.

² For a somewhat similar situation see R. E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, Jr., "A Comparative Study of Nine Central Business Districts," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 30, 1954, pp. 301-336. Salt Lake City displays such characteristics, discussed on page 309.

³ R. E. Murphy and J. E. Vance, Jr., "Delimiting the CBD, *Economic Geography*, Vol. 30, 1954, pp. 189-222.

⁴ H. J. de Blij, *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.



FIGURE 39 The interior of a city block in the commercial core of Dar es Salaam. The buildings in view face outward onto the street frontage provided by the block. Such interior spaces are used for parking, open storage, etc., and they greatly complicate the delimitation of the CBD. This particular block lies within 500 feet of the peak value intersection.

In order to accomplish the delimitation of the CBD in Dar es Salaam, the total available frontage on each block was first determined. By "frontage" is meant the line of contact between buildings and street sidewalks. Across this line steps every customer in the CBD, whether his business is in a first floor shop or in upper floor offices. Secondly, the total frontage (in each block) occupied by retail establishments, banks, and certain kinds of offices (such as doctors' dispensaries) was mapped. This procedure was carried out in each block of the core area, including those mapped as part of the middle zone. Hence, a "percentage retail occupancy" figure was arrived at by calculating what percentage of the total available frontage is actually occupied by CBD (i.e. retail) establishments. The results show a variation from six per cent to one-hundred per cent, and are represented by Figure 40.

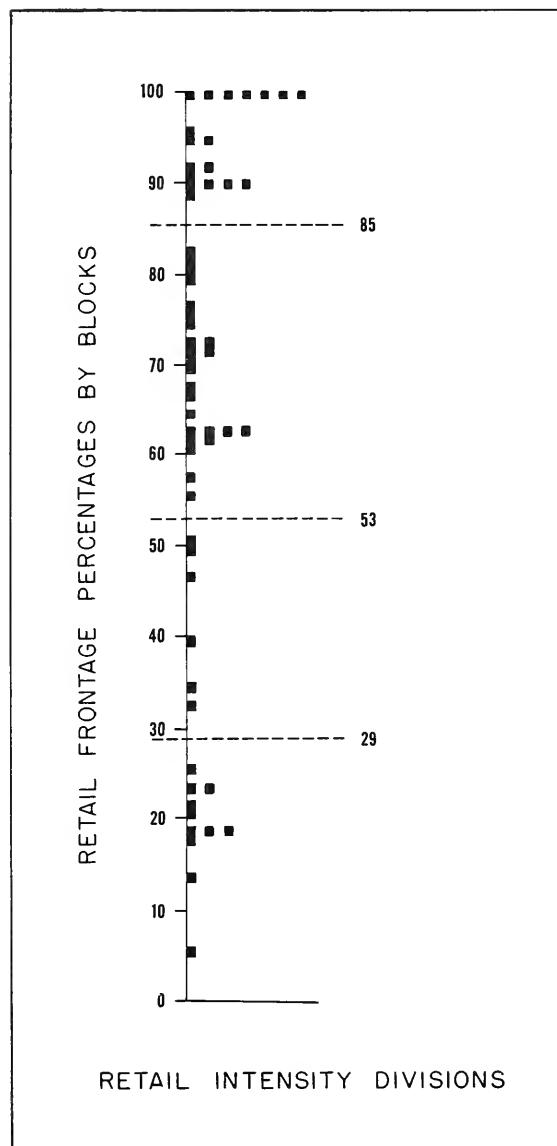


FIGURE 40 The frequency distribution of retail frontage percentages by blocks and established retail intensity divisions.

The frequency distribution of the percentage figures shows sizeable breaks in several places. Previous study indicated the existence of a four-fold division, the practice having been to find those breaks nearest to the twenty-five, fifty, and seventy-five per cent level of occupance. The existence of breaks at twenty-nine and eighty-five per cent is immediately revealed by inspection of the frequency diagram, but the break near fifty per cent presents greater problems. Two factors determine the break at fifty-three per cent: the break below the fifty per cent level would have been at forty-three per cent (four units farther from the fifty per cent level than the fifty-three per cent break), and of the three blocks nearest the fifty per cent level, two lie below this point and only one above. Elementary linkage analysis supports the breaks of twenty-nine and eighty-five per cent, while no clear choice emerges among the breaks near the fifty per cent level.

On the basis of these divisions, the core district was mapped as intensive, semi-intensive, extensive, and ultra-extensive retail (Fig. 41). Several aspects of the region emerge immediately. The intensive retail areas of the commercial heart of Dar es Salaam lie well to the west of the peak value intersection. Furthermore, there appears to be a break along India Street, as a block along the eastern side of its intersection with Selous Street (a major thoroughfare) records only twenty-six per cent occupance. Tracing the situation along Windsor Street westward from the Askari Circle, there is a consistent decrease in retail frontage occupance to India Street, from where the percentages rapidly increase. This zone of low occupance appears to act as a buffer region between the two areas mentioned above, one of which showed a predominance of white customers, and the other, a vast majority of non-white customers. That difference may account for the low retail occupance here and may continue to exist for reasons which are not dissimilar from those perpetuating the Kariakoo empty belt, though it was doubtlessly initiated by different processes.

Thus while land values decrease westward along with store quality and numbers of white customers, retail intensity increases in this direction, so that the initial impression conveyed by Figure 41 is a maximum of commercial activity along Market Street and Ring Road rather than Independence Avenue. Yet most of the present building activity focuses upon the eastern blocks of the core, and the Askari Circle remains one of the hubs of the CBD.

The commercial core, therefore, is clearly divided, a situation which parallels that found in Lourenço Marques (where, however, there was a three- rather than a two-fold division). Henceforth, frequent reference will be made to this east-west, high-low quality, white-Asian fragmentation, which is a crucial factor in the interpretation of the distribution patterns of individual retail elements. The division fails only to affect the retail frontage occupance along Independence Avenue, where the section between Nassor and Bagamoyo Streets is the only place where shoppers from east and west really mingle.

The determination of the boundary for the CBD, also based upon the divisions established previously, presents surprisingly few problems. Using the lowest (twenty-nine per cent) break as the lower limit of CBD occupance of any single block, the region is sharply defined and, almost everywhere, the boundary can be clearly identified. In a number of places the contrast between blocks of CBD character and total non-CBD occupance lie adjacent to each other—for instance, across southern Ring Street, where 100 per cent retail frontage occupance on a block lies adjacent to a residential and empty area. Several such situations occur, especially along the western edge of the core and in the extreme east (across Byatt and Ohio Streets).

Though sharply defined almost everywhere, the CBD boundary is indistinct in the north between Selous and India Streets. Here the two blocks north of Ring Road have a total percentage of retail frontage occupance amounting to only thirty-five and thirty-three per cent (technically still within the CBD limits). Inspection of the site reveals, however, that most of those estab-

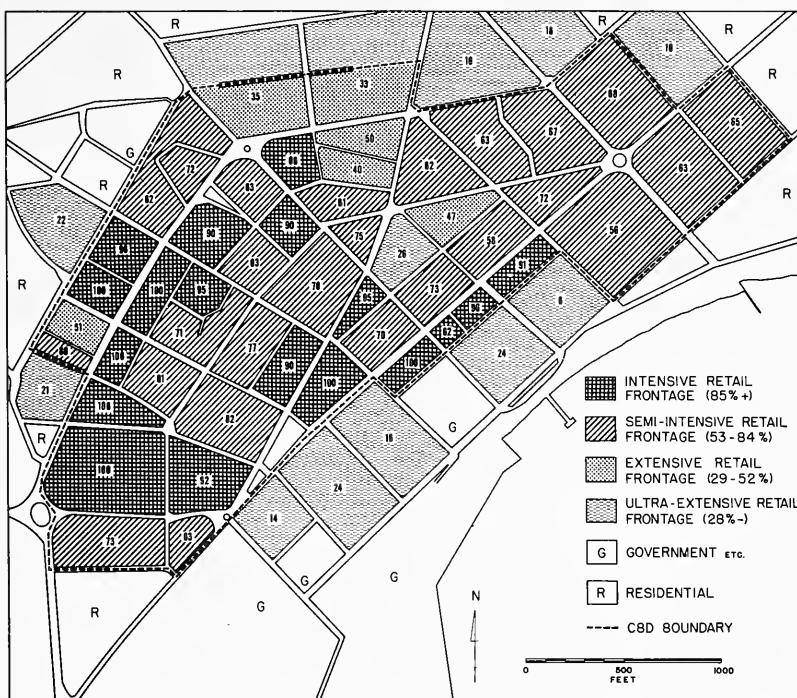


FIGURE 41 The Central Business District of Dar es Salaam as delimited by methods employed in this study. Note the high intensity of retail frontage occupancy far west of the peak value intersection, and the apparent break along northern India Street, where occupancy intensity drops to the lowest encountered in the district, creating a zone of separation between two distinct parts of the CBD.

lishments constituting these percentages lie along Ring Road and the southern parts of Selous and Bagamoyo Streets. The blocks are both virtually divided by dead-end streets, which separate each into a dominantly retail and a dominantly non-retail section. The boundary of the CBD in this location, therefore, was drawn so as to fragment these two blocks into CBD and non-CBD parts. Only in this area was it necessary to break a block in this manner; everywhere else, division between CBD

and non-CBD land use was sharp across city streets. Such fragmentation as outlined above is avoided as often as possible in this method of CBD delimitation.

In the south, considering the apparently advantageous location of several blocks on the waterfront and adjacent to Independence Avenue, an anomalous situation prevails. Here, mainly due to Government occupancy of several choice sites, the presence of schools, churches, and perhaps the distance from the areas of peak pedestrian flow, a number of blocks have very low percentages of retail frontage occupancy. Thus the southern frontage on Independence Avenue west of Bagamoyo Street is not a part of the CBD of Dar es Salaam. Especially noteworthy are the sharp declines in frontage occupancy across Mansfield Street.

The central business district as defined and delimited here is remarkably compact, only one block within the established boundary falling below the twenty-nine per cent retail frontage occupancy level. With one exception (in the extreme west), the only other blocks falling below the fifty-three per cent break lie in the zone of separation between the "white" and "non-white" sections of the district. The most intensive frontage occupancy occurs to the west of this zone, in the non-white section of the district. Here premises are of lesser quality and smaller, but there are many more of them and competition for space is severe. This is an indication of the degree to which commercial activity was in Asian hands during the period of colonial administration, since "non-white" in this context refers almost exclusively to Asians and some Arabs. The location of white-owned stores (along with some Asian establishments) in the high land value area reflects the purchasing power of the customers frequenting this section of the CBD. The relative intensity of occupancy of land in the two areas suggests the difference in total numbers of people served by each section, a factor which will be recognized when the location of the retail node of the entire central business district and certain individual retail establishments is considered.

Chapter V INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CBD

The determination of the relationships between the central business district and its immediate surroundings having been completed, it now remains to study the retail character of this commercial zone. It should be emphasized that the CBD, though indeed the commercial heart of Dar es Salaam, does not serve all suburban areas in the same manner. The business zone of Kariakoo draws many of the customers from Kariakoo who, as a result, do not cross the empty belt into the CBD. Thus, in reality, there are three business districts here: the two divisions, "European" (white) and Asian, of the CBD proper, and the business area of Kariakoo which serves mainly Africans. This chapter is concerned with the CBD as defined previously, and the approach will involve the location of all retail establishments in order to determine to what extent the division noted there is reflected in the distribution of individual retail establishments, especially those serving certain sectors of the population or customers of a known level of purchasing power.

Although a larger town than Lourenço Marques, Dar es Salaam does not possess any department stores, so that Scott's method for establishing the retail node cannot be employed.¹ This aspect of Dar es Salaam reflects the small white—and wealthy—population of the place. Though less populous by 40,000 people, Lourenço Marques has a white section numbering over 30,000, or seven times that of Dar. In that Portuguese city, there are four department stores.² The retail node of Dar es Salaam's CBD, therefore, was determined by allotting equal weight to all retail establishments in the district. The result is its location in the so-called Asian Market block, between Market, India, Bagamoyo, and Selous Streets (Fig. 42). A reference to the map of land values (Fig. 35) shows that this particular block, surrounded on three sides by lower priced land, is valued as high as land on blocks adjacent to the Askari Circle.

The following discussion is based upon the increasing distance of individual retail elements' nodes from this CBD retail node (Table I). Frequent reference will be made to the racial-economic partition of the CBD and the location of the particular node east or west of the CBD retail node. For comparative purposes, the individual functions' nodes are also listed in order of increasing distance from the peak value intersection (Table II).

RETAIL ELEMENTS

Among the problems encountered in the mapping and interpretation of retail patterns in Dar es Salaam is that of variation in size and quality of the individual establishments. In general there is a deterioration westward, but this is not true for all retail elements (Fig. 43). There is also a decrease in size westward, and of course here also there are exceptions. There appeared, however, no reasons to assume that a small establishment in the western part of the CBD attracted fewer customers than a

¹ P. Scott, "The Australian CBD," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 35, 1959, p. 295.

² H. J. de Blij, *Op. Cit.*, p. 68.

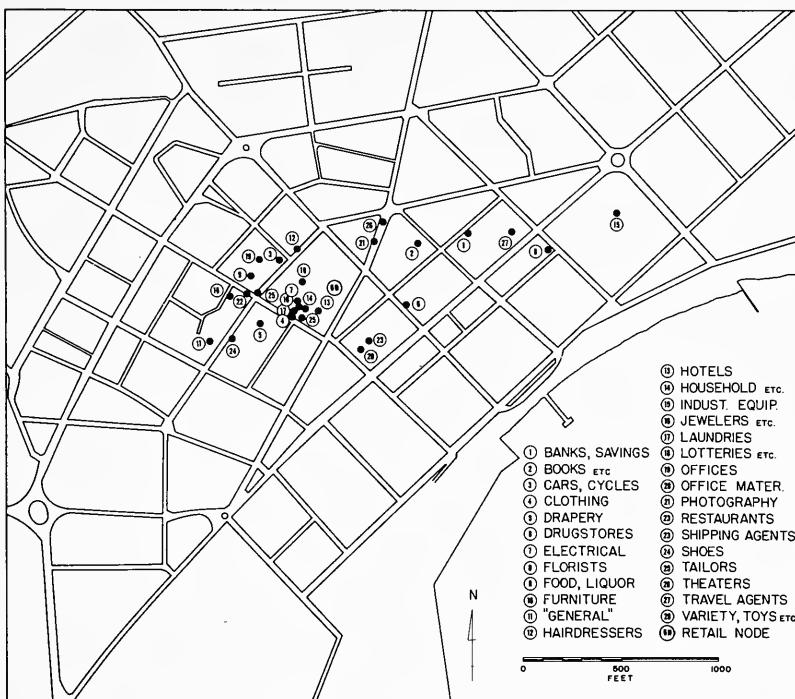


FIGURE 42 The retail node of the commercial core of Dar es Salaam, and the individual retail functions' nodes with respect to its location. A number of individual retail nodes are located well to the west of the CBD retail node; others are situated far to the east.

higher-priced, larger one in the white section. Naturally there are exceptions, one of which is exemplified by the size and quality variation of *hotels*, the first of the retail elements to be discussed here.

The node of the hotels of Dar's commercial core lies closer than any other node to the CBD retail node. Hotels are distributed throughout the CBD and occasionally occur even in the surrounding blocks (Fig. 44). This even distribution results in the proximity of the hotel node to the CBD node, but it is an incomplete indication of the room and food availability in the

<i>West of CBD Retail Node (Non-White Region)</i>	<i>East of CBD Retail Node ("European" Region)</i>
13 Hotels	
18 Lotteries, pools	
14 Household, hardware	
7 Electrical	
16 Jewelers, opticians	
28 Variety, souvenir, toy	
17 Laundries	
4 Clothing	
12 Hairdressers	
3 Cars, cycles	21 Photography
25 Tailors	23 Shipping agents
19 Offices	20 Office materials
22 Restaurants	6 Drugstores (chemists)
10 Furniture	26 Theaters
24 Shoes	2 Books, stationery
11 "General"	1 Banks, savings
	27 Travel agents
	8 Florists
	15 Industrial equipment

TABLE 1 *Sequence of Retail Nodes of Individual Functions on Basis of Increasing Distance from CBD Retail Node*

<i>West of CBD Retail Node (Non-White Region)</i>	<i>East of CBD Retail Node ("European" Region)</i>
12 Hairdressers	15 Industrial equipment
13 Hotels	8 Florists
18 Lotteries, pools	27 Travel agents
14 Household, hardware	1 Banks, savings
7 Electrical	2 Books, stationery
16 Jewelers, opticians	26 Theaters
28 Variety, souvenir, toy	6 Drugstores (chemists)
3 Cars, cycles	21 Photography
17 Laundries	23 Shipping agents
4 Clothing	20 Office materials
19 Offices	
25 Tailors	
9 Food, liquor	
5 Drapery	
22 Restaurants	
10 Furniture	
24 Shoes	
11 "General"	

TABLE 2 *Sequence of Retail Nodes of Individual Functions on Basis of Increasing Distance from Peak Value Intersection*

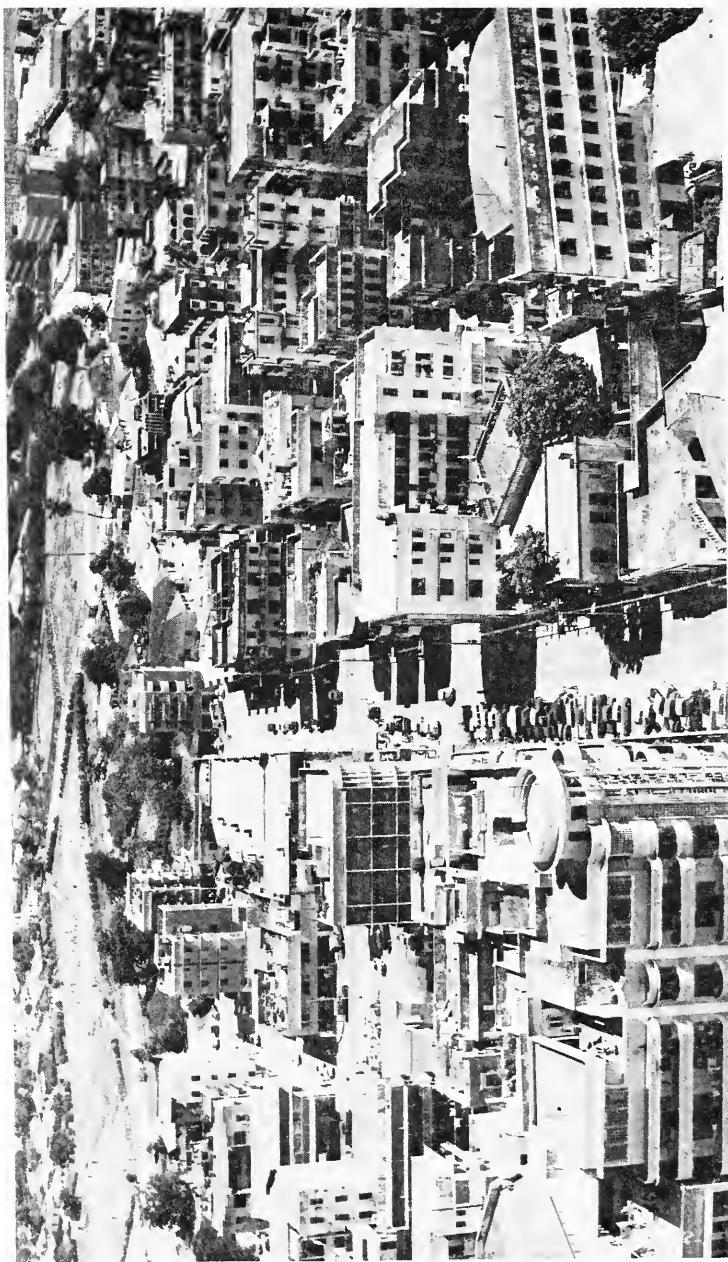


FIGURE 43 A view overlooking the western section of the CBD. In the background is Kariakoo, and the dividing "empty belt" is clearly visible. In the foreground, note the residence surviving amid the built-up congestion.

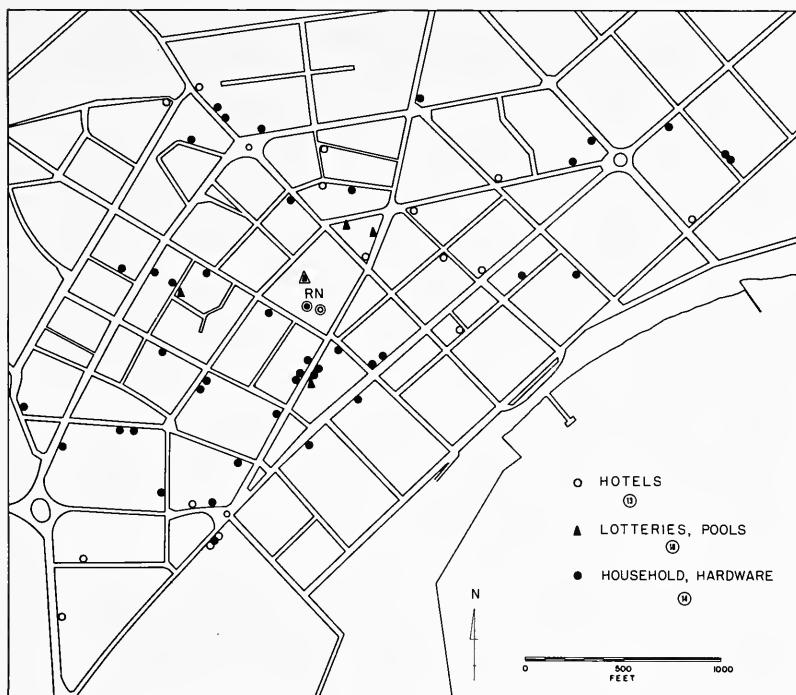


FIGURE 44

central city. Almost without exception, the hotels in the white sector (east) are larger than their competitors. Among the largest is the New Africa Hotel, which is also nearest to the peak value intersection, the easternmost hotel in the core, and one of the oldest such establishments in the city. While hotels such as the New Africa serve mainly whites, tourists, and wealthier non-whites, the hotels of the western part of the CBD frequently serve exclusively non-white visitors. In addition several of the hotels serve food and liquor, operate restaurants, and present entertainment. Again, the quality and frequency of this practice are greater in the east than westward in the CBD, and hotels in the white sector of the CBD in this respect are also more effective attractions to customers than are those in the west.

While the sale of lottery tickets and pool cards (there are several representatives in Dar for British soccer pools) is by no means the big business it is in Lourenço Marques, the node of these *lottery* and *pools* distributors is second only to hotels in proximity to the CBD retail node. The number of these establishments is very small, however, and they are not the large, high-quality stores of the Portuguese city. They appear to respond directly to peak pedestrian flow; none lies in the white section, and none lies in the fringe areas of the CBD.

Of the numerically better represented stores in Dar es Salaam, the node of the *household* and *hardware* stores lies nearest to the CBD retail node. Distributed throughout the CBD, these stores sell mainly such equipment as kitchen utensils, ironing boards, etc., but no electrical appliances or furniture. The fact that they are essential to all sectors of the city's population is indicated by the location of several such establishments in the eastern part of the district, where they are larger and sell a greater variety of products than do the smaller household stores in the western section.

Stores selling *electrical* equipment have a significant distribution around a node which is relatively near that of the entire CBD (Fig. 45). The dependence of these establishments to pedestrian traffic is emphasized by their concentration along major thoroughfares; there are several such stores along Independence Avenue and Ring Road. They rarely occur in narrow, side street frontage. Often occupying excellent sites and numerous in both sections of the CBD, electrical stores reflect the increasing use made by all sectors of the population of various kinds of electrical appliances. These stores often combine their sale of such equipment with the distribution of records. They are among the establishments in the CBD proper to receive a part of the small share of African patronage. However, these are luxury products, and the electrical stores in Dar, in their location and quality (better than average in both parts of the CBD), give evidence of the comparatively high income of their customers.

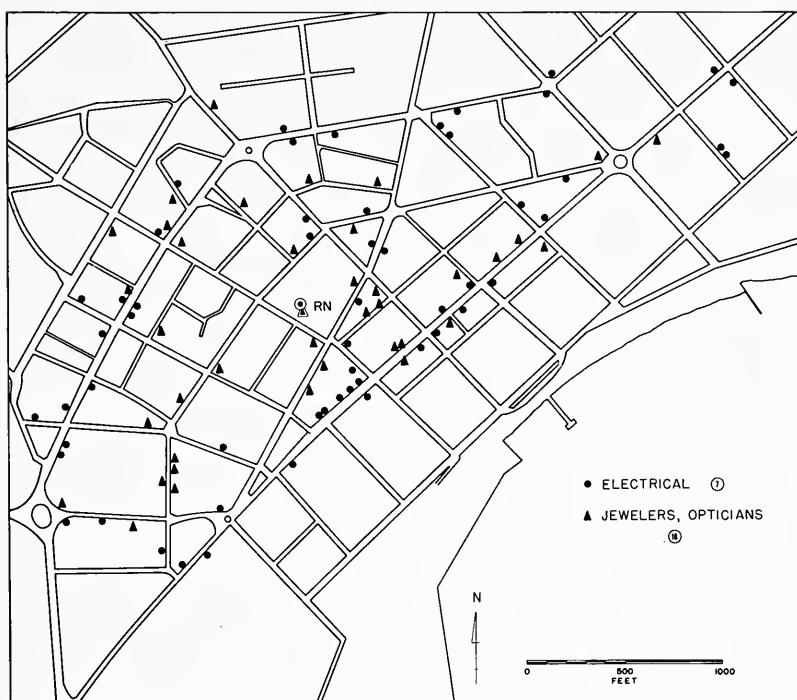


FIGURE 45

Jewelers and *opticians*, on the other hand, selling a wide variety of products from eye glasses to high quality jewelry and from cheap trinkets to magnificent silver pieces, do not possess the general quality level of the electrical stores. Although their type of distribution is not very dissimilar from that of electrical appliance stores, and many lie along major thoroughfares, a number also are found in narrow alleyways and in poor positions practically never occupied by this retail element. Many of these jewelers are no more than watch repairmen, and frequently their store is little more than a small room, with a single door off the street. Such establishments, though classified as jewelers', may not have even a display window or cabinet, and are a far cry from the large modern stores of this kind in the eastern part

of the CBD. By virtue of the fact that they sell and repair watches and eye glasses, everyday needs rather than luxuries, these stores, in spite of their title, attract a wider cross section than do the electrical stores.

Variety stores, and those selling *souvenirs, sporting goods* and *toys* (often simultaneously), occur throughout the CBD (Fig. 46). As expected, the better stores lie in the east, and small, poorer premises in the west. Those in the white section of the CBD attract, in addition to the local white and Asian population, a fairly large tourist trade. Those variety stores located east of the zone of separation mentioned above lie mainly on Independence Avenue. Among those in the west, however, less than half occupy good sites along major streets. While those stores in the east of the CBD include major distributors of African wood carvings, skins and trophies, many of the variety stores located in the west cater to the resident Asian population and display a large amount of Indian products, but handle less volume. The balance thus attained results in the relative proximity of the node of variety stores to the CBD retail node.

There are only eight *laundries* in central Dar es Salaam, four of which lie near the western fringe of the CBD (and which serve the residents of the upper floors above the stores in that section of the downtown area). The others, lying east of the CBD retail node, are linked to the major hotels in this part of the core. Some of these establishments occupy surprisingly good sites, although others lie along the least traveled and narrowest streets in the town.

The contrasts between the two divisions of the CBD are well illustrated by the distribution of *clothing* stores. (Fig. 47). Large, well appointed stores of this kind are concentrated, in the east, in the prime sites along Independence Avenue. Two such stores adjoin the Askari Circle itself, and Dar's top quality consumer goods are sold here.

Nevertheless, the node of clothing stores lies west of the CBD retail node, the concentration of these establishments being along Uhuru Street and Ring Road. Occasionally, even in this area,

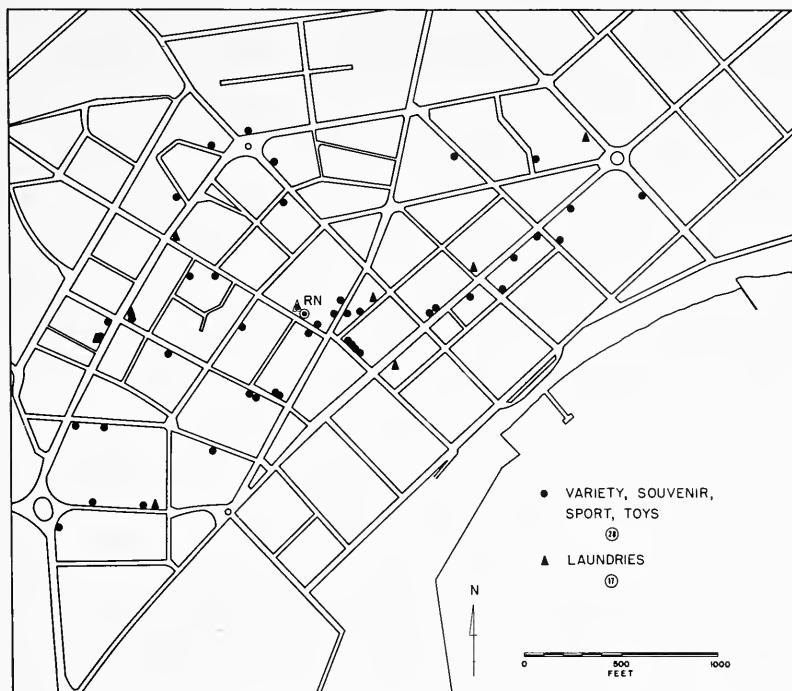


FIGURE 46

clothing stores occupy good sites, but many do not. It is often difficult to separate clothing stores in the western section of the CBD from stores selling mainly drapery goods. These two items are often sold together, and there may even be a tailor in such a store who works on the premises on draperies selected by the buyers. The criterion, of course, is the source of the bulk of the income of the establishment, but records are rarely kept to prove the store owner's statements.

The number of *hairdressers* in the CBD indicates the large size of the resident population within the district's limits. Serving mainly Asiatics (in the west) and whites (in the east), these establishments are similar to other CBD functions in their failure to attract a large African patronage. The distribution, predict-

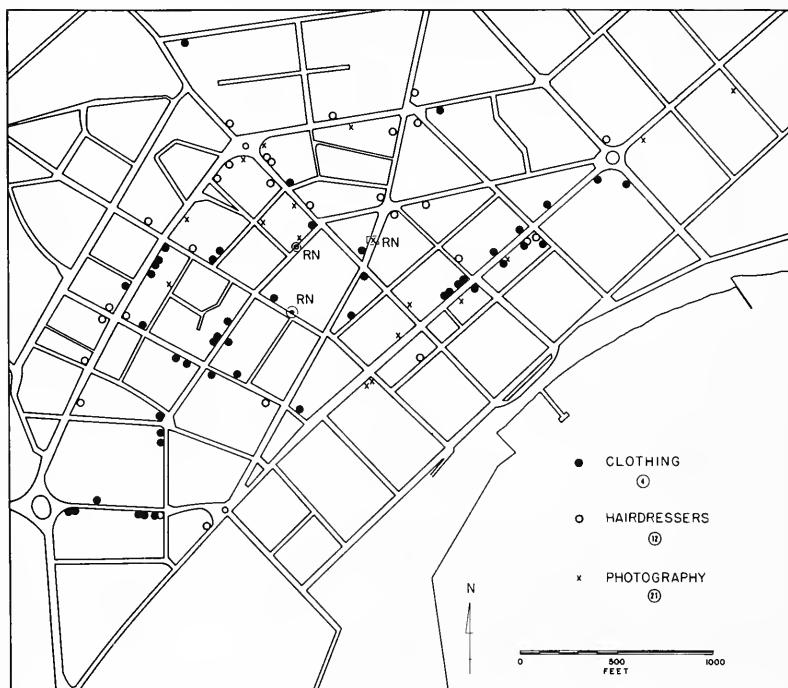


FIGURE 47

ably, does not show a concentration of consequence in any part of the CBD, nor are the premises and sites especially good. A rather high number of hairdressers are located in the north, which is in easy walking distance of the multi-family apartments of southern Upanga.

The distribution of *photography* stores and photographers in the commercial core of Dar is such that the node for these establishments is drawn to the east of the CBD retail node in spite of the population distribution and pedestrian flow in the district. This is the nearest node to the CBD retail node to lie east (in this case, actually within the zone of low-occupance separation), and results from the nature of the goods sold and services performed. More even than electrical appliances (whose

distributors are spread about a node which lies west of the CBD node), photography stores sell luxuries which can be afforded most often by the wealthier among the customers. Photographers face competition from drugstores (chemists), where film is sold and processed, but the sale of cameras and projectors is almost exclusively theirs. Requiring a considerable capital outlay, the majority of photography stores selling equipment are in the eastern section of the CBD. Those in the north and west are most often photographers who make a living (frequently precarious) out of portrait work, done under poor conditions with outdated and insufficient equipment. Since such work is also preformed by the photography stores of the eastern part of the CBD, there is no basis for separating these functions, but the significance of the eastern location of the photography node is thereby emphasized.

A very different pattern is presented by the commercial establishments dealing in *cars*, *cycles*, spare parts for automobiles, auto repair, and service (Fig. 48). Not requiring the choice—and expensive—sites occupied by distributors of luxury goods, these stores nevertheless occur everywhere in the western section of the CBD (and the node lies well to the west of the CBD retail node), and on some good sites in the east. A wide variety of establishments is included under this heading because of the overlap of services performed. In the east there are several large auto showrooms and sales offices, whereas in the west small repair shops occur.

Shipping having long been in white (and, to a lesser extent in Asian) hands, the node of *shipping agents'* establishments lies somewhat east and south of the CBD retail node. With one exception, this function lies completely outside the western section—except along Independence Avenue, where proximity to the harbor is an advantage.

The node for stores selling *office materials* also lies southeast of the CBD retail node, but there are a mere six establishments of this type in the city. Since most of the larger offices in the CBD lie in the east, the eastern location of these stores (again

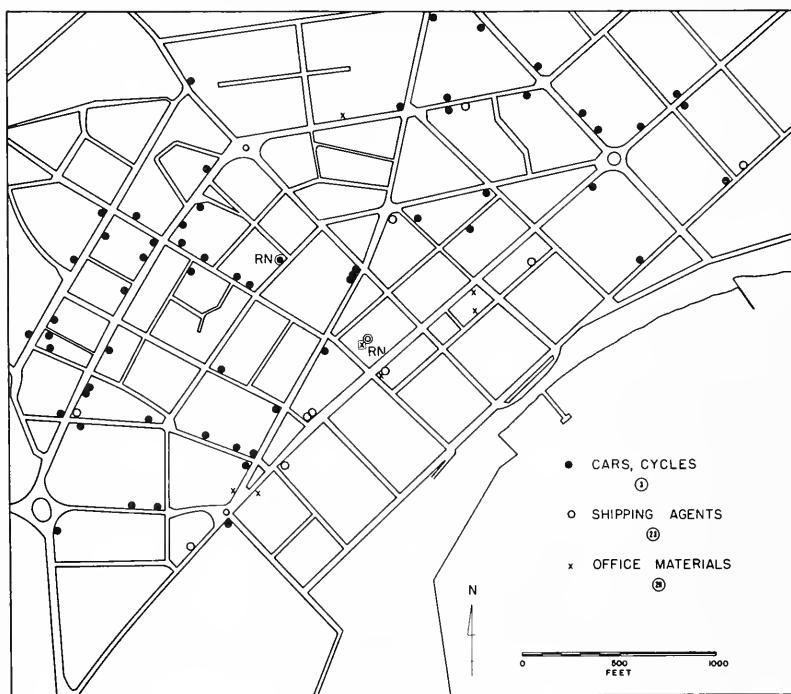


FIGURE 48

avoiding the west except along Independence Avenue) is a normal consequence.

In Dar es Salaam the number of *drugstores* is considerable (Fig. 49). Here, as elsewhere in Africa, the chemist fulfills the function of the American drugstore, although it never serves food and rarely sells goods other than medicines, toilet articles, and some photographic materials. What is significant in Dar is the location of the node of these stores, which is well to the east of the CBD retail node. Several well-appointed drugstores, comparable in quality to the best in any city in Subsaharan Africa, occupy excellent sites. The purchase of medicines and drugs is not as easy for those in the lowest income groups as it is for others, and the location of the retail node indicates that

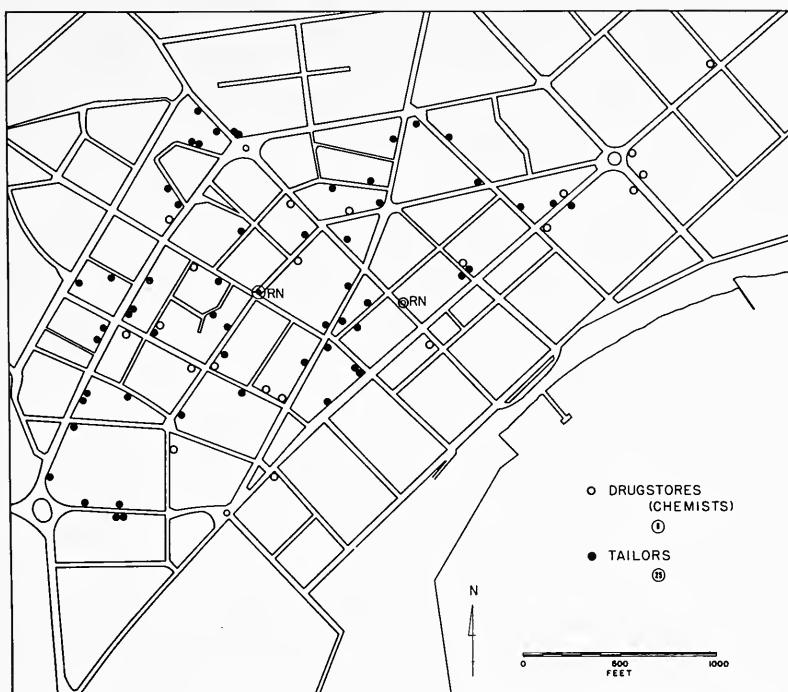


FIGURE 49

this has its effect on the drugstores of Dar, which are concentrated in the high class area of the district.

The distribution pattern of *tailors* in the CBD presents an opposite situation. Practically all tailors in Dar es Salaam's CBD are Asians, and many operate in the most modest of premises, which occasionally serve also as living space. As the location map shows, tailors' establishments occur throughout the western part of the CBD, and lie along the narrow alleyways as well as along better frontage. Linked closely to the clothing stores and drapery stores (which make use of their services), tailors are not absent from the east, but are far fewer in number there.

The function mapped as *offices* (Fig. 50) requires explanation. In Dar es Salaam, doctors, dentists, lawyers, and others

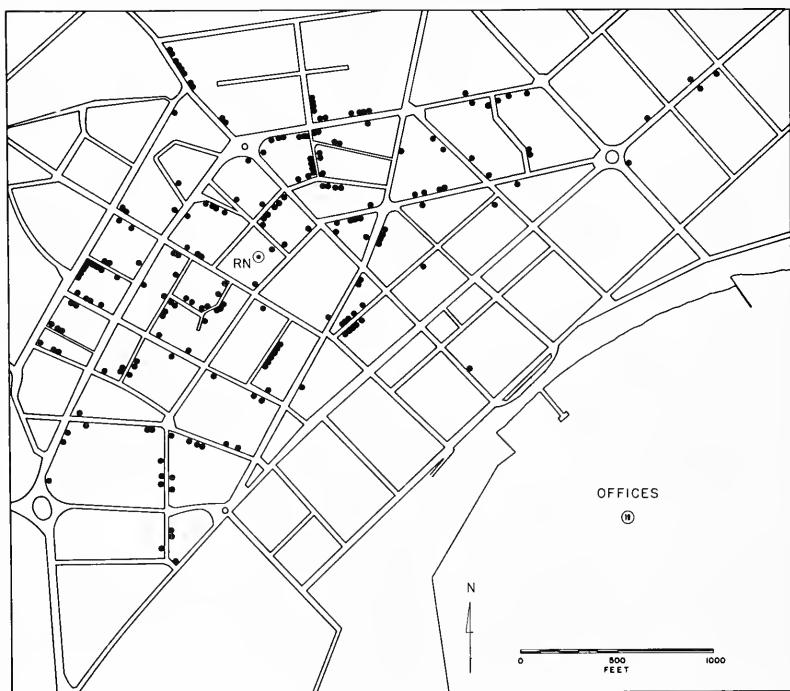


FIGURE 50

most frequently occupy first floor offices closely resembling stores (window displays often are designed to attract prospective customers) and operating as such. A doctor's office, for instance, in competition with others, will have a large sign indicating the availability of treatment, and will display medicines dispensed by the establishment. Some of these offices are of high quality in terms of advertising displays, and are largely dependent upon that quality for success—as is the retail establishment. These are not offices in the usual sense of the word, as they are in direct, street level competition for customers, and in addition almost always sell certain goods directly.

Another category fitting this description is the office of the wholesale distributor. This is a characteristic of the western part

of the CBD and presents an almost insoluble complication. Many of these wholesalers organize the distribution of goods within the CBD to various retail establishments and are, in a sense, shippers. This real office function is almost invariably added to by the actual retail sale of such goods as are being distributed at wholesale prices. But the variety of goods involved is such that no single classification—not even the “general” classification discussed below—can be applied here. On the basis of the fact that none of the wholesalers really attempts to display his wares in competition with retail establishments, and all are engaged in distributing activities, these were mapped as offices, the only common denominator among them. Commerce being in the hands of Asians, it is not surprising that the retail node lies as far west of the CBD node as it does. The few offices that lie in the east are mainly of a special type, such as foreign countries’ information services, although legal advisers and doctors occupy a few of these.

Dar es Salaam’s core includes five *theaters*, all of which are cinemas (Fig. 51). The eastward location of the node for this function, therefore, is hardly significant as yet, although three of the theaters lie in or near the eastern section of the CBD. All theaters appear to be heavily patronized by Asians, whatever their location, but the quality variation is as expected.

The concentration of *drapery* stores in the west of the CBD is unusual, and repeated only by stores of the “general” type; successions of drapery stores occupy entire block frontages, as, for instance, along Bagamoyo and Market Streets. Only three such stores lie east of the zone of separation, and the fact that this trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Asians is emphasized by the location of the retail node.

Only two *food* and *liquor* stores occupy sites on blocks adjoining the peak value intersection, and although a number do occur in the east, there is a concentration of these establishments in the west of the CBD (Fig. 52). Occupying premises which vary from the best (rarely) to the worst in the town (frequently), food stores again reflect the large resident population in

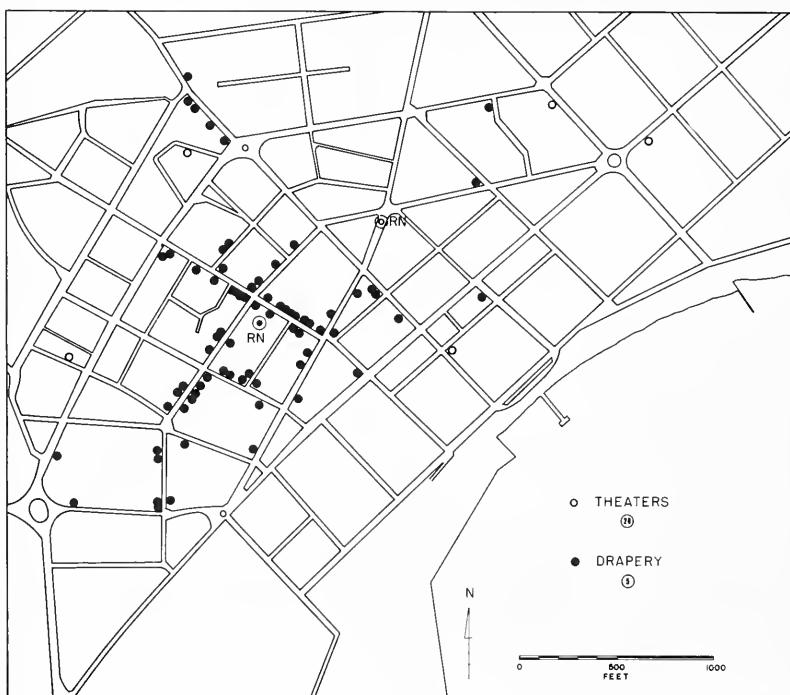


FIGURE 51

the CBD's west and the essentially non-residential commercial character of the east. In the east, customers buying food usually come from Upanga and Oyster Bay; those food stores located in the white section are usually larger, better appointed, and clearly cater to the customer who comes for weekly or bi-weekly food purchases. In the west, on the other hand, many food stores are small, grimy establishments with limited and unvaried stock, selling small quantities of such commodities as rice, corn meal, and milk. Not surprisingly, the retail node for this function lies far to the west.

Many food stores combine the sales of food with catering for customers who wish to consume part of their purchases on the premises. For instance, although the stores in question may

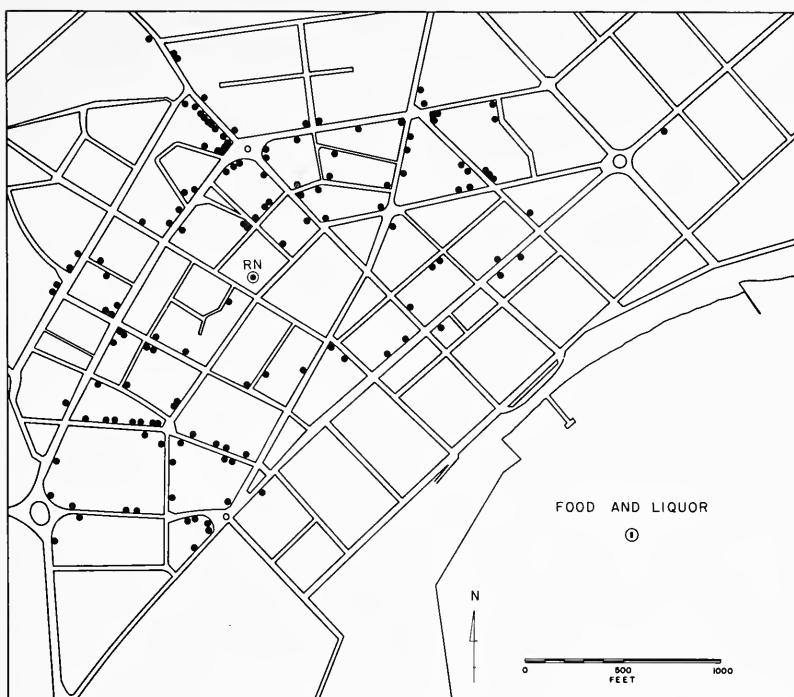


FIGURE 52

have no facilities for such customers to sit down for their meal, many permit them to consume a bottle of soft drink and a roll while standing in the store, and thus compete somewhat with the town's restaurants. There are far fewer *restaurants* in Dar es Salaam than there are foodstores, but the distinction is sometimes not easy to make (Fig. 53). In view of what has been said concerning the nature of the patronage, it would be expected that the two nodes would be in close proximity, and they are within 100 feet of each other.

The twelve *book stores* of Dar es Salaam's CBD are evenly divided between the eastern and western sections of the district. Those in the east are larger, sell a wider selection of books and stationery and fewer peripheral goods, and occupy better sites

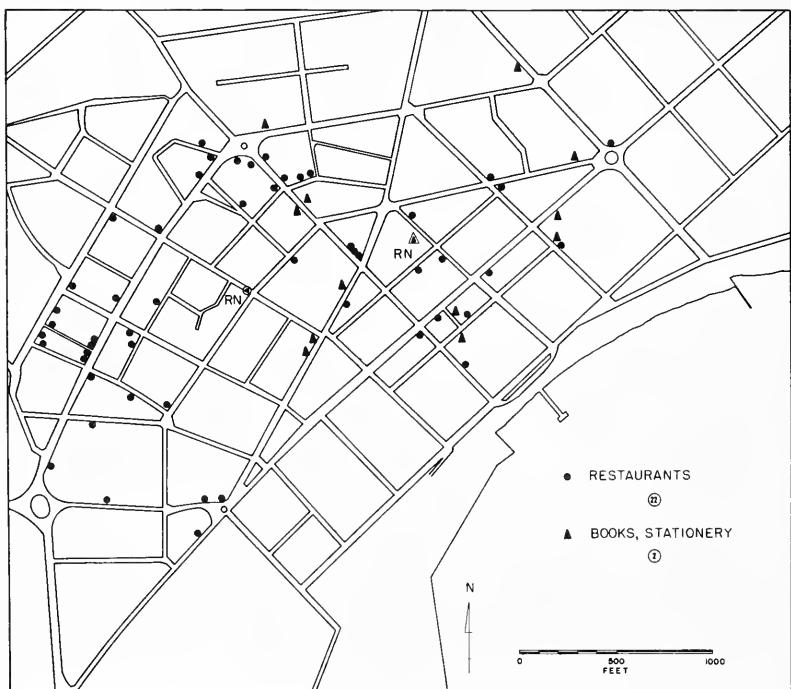


FIGURE 53

and premises. The retail node, significantly, lies well to the east of the CBD node, as there are no such establishments in the heart of the western section. Depending heavily upon pedestrian flow, several of these stores occupy prime sites.

Furniture stores are concentrated in the west to a remarkable degree (Fig. 54). Few stores of this type lie in the east, and of those only one occupies a prime site. This distribution again reflects the nature of the patronage in the east and west. However, though serving the local resident population of the CBD, many of the furniture stores of the west occupy poor premises and sites, presumably because of the rather large amount of space they require, the congestion in this area and the lesser dependence upon pedestrian flow and window display. Few of

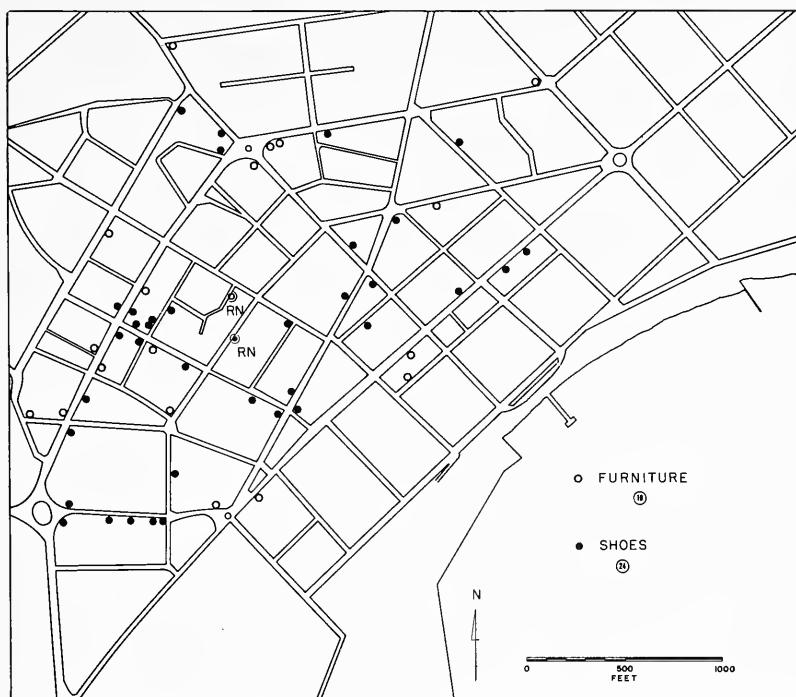


FIGURE 54

Dar's furniture stores in the western section make any effort to display their wares in an attractive fashion. The contrast to Lourenço Marques is noteworthy; there, the retail node of furniture stores far from the CBD node, not because these establishments occupy poor sites and premises, but because of competition from department stores, variety stores, and furniture stores in outlying parts of the city. The difference in Dar es Salaam may lie in the possibly lesser degree of housepride on the part of the majority of the people in the town, and in the much small "European" population.

While *shoe stores* are distributed throughout the CBD, there is no differentiation here between men's and women's shoes, a situation identical to that of clothing stores. Indeed, there are

several points of similarity between the pattern of clothing and shoe stores, including the variety in the quality of the premises and sites occupied. Some high quality establishments lie on Independence Avenue, while there are a number along Uhuru Street and others in poor positions, in alleys and narrow streets. The node of this retail function is drawn far to the west of the CBD retail node.

Dar es Salaam's core, like that of practically every other African city, includes a large number of "general" stores (Fig. 55). Catering primarily to the lower class buyer, these stores in a way fulfill the function of the department store in the CBD of a Western city. Selling household goods, single items of clothing, hardware, non-spoiling food, and oddments, "general" stores are never of a high quality, rarely occupy a better than average site, and are heavily concentrated along Market Street. What is remarkable about the distribution of this function in Dar es Salaam is the complete absence of the type in the east, the easternmost store of this kind being located 1,400 feet from the peak value intersection. This is an excellent indicator of the purchasing power of the customers in the two zones of the CBD: predictably, the retail node for the "general" store lies farther west than that of any other.

It now remains to consider four functions whose individual retail nodes lie far to the west of the CBD retail node (Fig. 56). The inclusion of *banks* and saving and loan associations is perhaps disputable in view of the fact that retail establishments are being considered here. They attract a large number of persons to the CBD, and are involved in the economic condition of the entire CBD, providing loans to prospective store owners and receiving the patronage of all population sectors. The building of Standard Bank is the largest in Dar es Salaam, and acts as office as well as residential building. Although banks occur in the west also, they are concentrated in the east, where they occupy the city's most impressive structures.

The mobility of the white population in colonial and newly independent territories is a commonplace, and since it is these

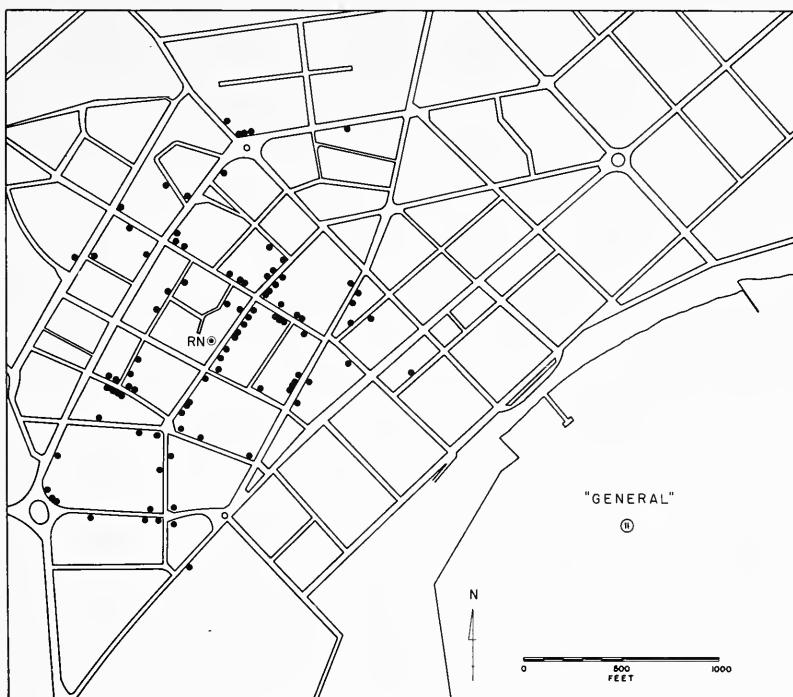


FIGURE 55

people who make the most use of the city's *travel agents*, this function is again concentrated in the east. Several give evidence of their prosperity by occupying large premises along Independence Avenue and near the peak value intersection. Since tourism continues to increase, it is likely that the present location of the retail node, though based on comparatively few establishments, is a good indication of the area where most of the business forthcoming will be transacted.

There is but one *florist* in Dar es Salaam's commercial core, located in the eastern section of the district. Finally, each of the three relatively large establishments selling *industrial equipment*, machinery and heavy tools, are predictably located in the area where the majority of the town's industrialists have their

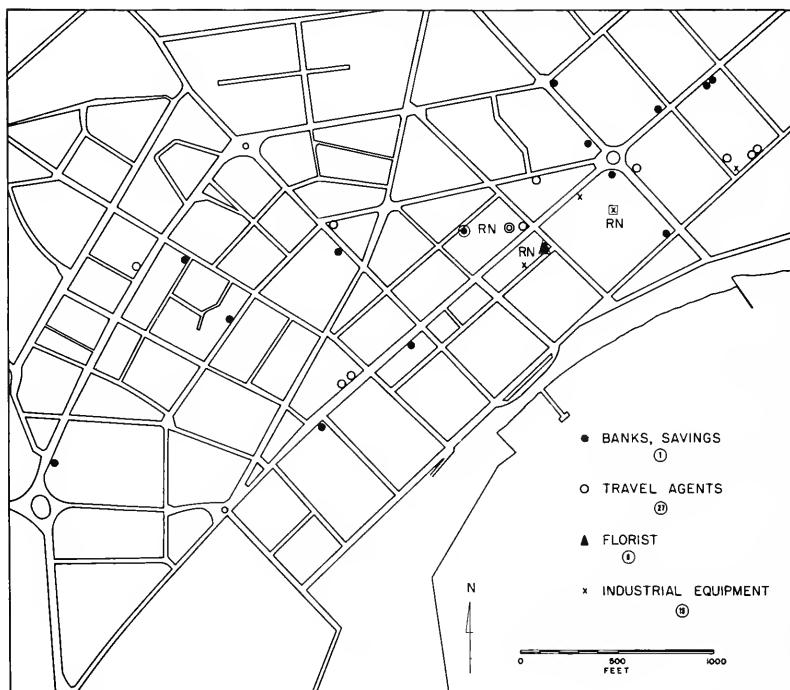


FIGURE 56

offices, the east. Though farthest away from the CBD retail node, the node of this function, significantly, lies nearest the peak value intersection of the district.

Chapter VI CONCLUSIONS

Dar es Salaam already is showing some of the signs of change consequent upon Tanganyika's emancipation; some are desirable, others are damaging (Figs. 57, 58, 59). At the time of writing, however, no major contrasts with the situation a few years previous could yet be recorded, so that the study reasonably indicates the conditions of the city as colonial rule came to an end. Initial changes to be observed include the breakdown of the rigidity of racial residential segregation, the initiation of unprecedented building activity and the erection of shacks in places where this had been prevented by law in previous years.

For the municipality as a whole, the correlation between race and economic stratification is still reflected by contrasts in residential quality of the various suburbs. Evidence for the desirability of such segregation (from the point of view of the administrative power) survives in the artificially created empty belt between the Asian part of the CBD and the African suburb of Kariakoo, and of course in the urban land use pattern in general. Characteristically, the city sprawls widely across a large territory, and the municipality incorporates many empty and near-empty areas. This is in strong contrast to the compactness



FIGURE 57 Modern, multi-story building under construction on one of the blocks adjoining the peak value intersection. Several such structures are being erected in this area. Though within a few hundred feet of the Askari Circle, note the large amount of empty land remaining.

of Portuguese African cities, and enhances the possibilities for the creation of the desired buffer areas between racially diverse residential suburbs.

Time has virtually eradicated the Arab impact upon the site of Dar es Salaam, and the German imprint remains in such features as the concentration of administrative and governmental functions in a single area, the emplacement of the railroad terminal, the road system of the core, and certain architectural aspects. The British influence, however, is naturally most obvious in view of the length of British hegemony in this territory and the fact that Britain was the last power to administer the city. Among Britain's legacies are the provision of utilities to a wide-



FIGURE 58 A third-class residence under construction in Kariakoo. Note the use of corrugated iron sheets for the roof.

spread area, including street-lighting in some distant third-class residential areas, considerable building in the outlying areas as well as the core, improvements in the transportation zone, and the provision of facilities for industry. Many of these achievements came about during the past decade.

The central business district, though immature, possesses a wide variety of retail functions. Its immaturity is indicated by the high resident population total within the established limits, the absence of department stores, and the lack of differentiation in the case of clothing and shoe stores. While the initial impression of the CBD is one of general uniformity, an analysis of the individual retail functions and the level of their patronage indicates a division into two parts—an eastern "European," or white, sector and a western Asian, or non-white, sector. Sepa-



FIGURE 59 Detrimental change in Dar es Salaam. Within the core area, and amid the vertical development of the CBD, such squatters' huts as these are making their appearance.

rated by a zone which shows dropping land values and low retail frontage occupancy percentages, these two sections of the CBD form separate foci for certain retail functions. The contrast in the distribution patterns of "general" and photography stores—and the locations of their respective nodes—forms an excellent example of the situation. When it is realized that Kariakoo possesses its own business district serving mainly Africans, the parallelism of residential and business segregation of the racial sectors of Dar's population is complete. Of course there is a greater amount of mingling in business than in residential practices, but the impression of homogeneity of Dar's core is destroyed by its dissection. Indeed, Asians own and patronize many of the stores in the eastern section of the CBD.

and whites not infrequently make use of tailors in the western part; but the fragmentation of the district (essentially identical to that of Lourenço Marques) is an established fact.

It is difficult to speculate upon the future of the city now that Africanization of government and administration is in full swing. Doubtlessly the Africans will assert themselves more fully in the economic life of the city as well as in its administration, and many who were interviewed indicated a desire to end the "monopoly of the Asians upon the commerce of our country and city." Already the residential racial segregation is breaking down, and this may be reflected in the future CBD, as the long-time segregation still is today.

Whatever the changes African administration will bring to Dar es Salaam (and other ex-colonial urban centers in Sub-saharan Africa), they will be superimposed upon a framework established by a foreign state. In order to facilitate the study of such changes when they become recognizable and significant, the study of the colonial urban centers of the continent today is a matter of urgency.

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